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SOCIAL SITUATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION - STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS AT GIESSEN UNIVERSITY 1918 - 1945

Part Two

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Abstract: Supplementary to the empiric study on Gießen students 1918-1945, in this second contribution the Gießen professors (N = 390) are researched. By use of partially different methods and questions than in the students' study, the focus in this research is particularly on the following problems: structural changes in professorate (in the whole university and in each faculty), social origin and political orientation, the effects of National Socialist university policy.

3. PROFESSORS AT GIESSEN UNIVERSITY 1918 - 1945

3.1 Data Base

The most important sources of the study on professors were:

- personnel files (Dozentenakten) of the Gießen university
- files of NSDAP (collected at Berlin Document Center/BDC, West Berlin)
- personnel lists (Personenbestand der Hessischen Ludwigs-Universität zu Gießen) ws 1918/19 ff.
- calendars of the Gießen university (Vorlesungsverzeichnisse) ws 1918/19 ff.
- anniversary publications of the Gießen university (Festschriften) from the years 1907, 1957 and 1982.(47)

This data base also allowed a different method of evaluation: in contrast to my study on Gießen students between 1918 - 1945, the empiric research on the Gießen professors during the same period was taken up without use of computer. The reason for this different conception was particularly the considerably lower complexity of recorded data.(48) The personnel files of the university and the NSDAP generally contained relatively little information on the social background of the Gießen scholars. The use of computer was also unnecessary due to the fact, that in the other important sources of information, the calendars and personnel lists of the Gießen university, the data were already presented in a processed form as "time rows" for each semester.

3.2 Data Collection

For the purpose of structural analyses the data base was aggregated under different categories:

- differentiated into professors in ordinary and non-ordinary (Ordinarien - Nichtordinarien)
- differentiated into faculties
- differentiated into professors in (non)ordinary and faculties.

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For (collective) biographic analyses each university teacher at Gießen between ws 1918/19 and ws 1944/45 (N = 390, excluding assistants) was recorded on an index card. The minimum of information contained in each set of data was:

- identification no.
- subject / faculty
- year of birth
- place of birth:
 - a) in which state of the "Deutsches Reich" the person was born (in borders from dec.31, 1937; e.g. Volksstaat Hessen, Prussia, Bavaria)(49) or in a foreign state
 - b) size of the community, diversified in 5 grades(50):
 - less than 2.000 inhabitants
 - 2.000 to 4.999 "
 - 5.000 to 19.999 "
 - 20.000 to 99.999 "
 - 100.000 and more "
- year(s) of immatriculation(s) and exmatriculation(s)
- place(s) of study
- year of doctorate
- place of doctorate
- year of non-ordinariate
- place of non-ordinariate
- year of Ordinariate
- place of Ordinariate
- father's profession:
 - a) profession was classified as follows:
 - unskilled worker
 - skilled worker
 - craftsman
 - low/intermediate employee
 - low/intermediate civil servant
 - farmer
 - merchant
 - entrepreneur
 - manager (salary dependent)
 - higher civil servant
 - professor
 - teacher
 - clergyman
 - physician /pharmacist
 - soldier (professional)
 - pensioner /without profession
 - artist /writer
 - lawyer /notary
 - veterinarian
 - b) university graduate?
 - c) self-employed?
- membership and year of entrance into the following organisations:
 - NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, National Socialist German Workers' Party)
 - NSDoB (Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Dozentenbund, National Socialist German University Teachers' Union, up to 1935 incorporated in the National Socialist Teachers' Union NSLB)

- NSDAB (**Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Ärztebund**, National Socialist German Physicians' Union, also for veterinarians and dentists)
- NSRB (**Nationalsozialistischer Rechtswahrerbund**, **National Socialist Union of Justice Guardians**)
- BNSDJ (Bund Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Juristen, Union of National Socialist German Jurists)
- SA (**Sturmabteilungen**, **storm-troops**)
- SS (**Schutzstaffel**, **Safe-Squadron**)
- "Freikorps" (volunteers corps; paramilitary organisations uniting dismissed soldiers who fought against the november-revolution (1918) and the communist revolts (1919/20))
- function in National Socialist organisations
- membership in and affinity to non-fascist parties and organisations before and after 1933
- opposition or resistance against the **National Socialist rule**
- dismissal for "racial" or political reasons after 30.1.1933
- emigration or exile
- return to Gießen or another German university after 1945

While the membership in National Socialist organisations could be reconstructed in many cases, the reconstruction of the social origin of Gießen professors was considerable more difficult. Surprisingly the personnel files of the NSDAP were more fragmentary in this aspect as the personnel files of the Gießen university. Also by combining both sources in 198 of 390 cases only, the father's profession could be clarified. For reasons of better comparability in the classification of the state of birth (Prussia etc.), the size of community and father's profession the same categories as in the students' study were used.

3.3 Some selected Results

The presentation of some results should be proceeded by the following considerations. The fundamental research hypotheses of this study were:

1. the **structural** changes at a small province university between 1918 **and** 1945 (e.g. division into professors in ordinary and non-ordinary, division into faculties, migration and appointments of professors etc.)
2. the changes in **university** careers between 1918 and 1945 (appointment, age, regional and social origin)
3. the social origin of **national socialist professors** at the Gießen university; National Socialist professors as representatives of a new elite or continuity of old elites?
4. **cross connections particularly between young professors and national socialist students**, with focussing young professors as part of the same social movement to establish a "new" student strata(51) at German universities.
5. the social structure of dismissed professors at the Gießen university under National Socialist rule.

All these considerations result from the question, how different political conditions (Weimar Republic and National Socialism) influenced a small province university.

In all figures and tables represented here, there is no sexspecific differentiation. This results from the fact, that during the period under investigation only 3 women were teaching at the Gießen university:

- Margarete Bieber (1879-1978), "Privatdozent" for archeology and art history in Gießen 1919, pl.a.o. Prof. 1931, dismissed 1.7.1933 for "racial" reasons, emigrated to USA 1933, professor at Columbia University, New York
- Charlotte von Reichenau (1890-1952), "Privatdozent" for political science (Staatswissenschaft) in Gießen 1927, apl.Prof. 1939, 1941 Frankfurt/Main
- Elisabeth Schliebe-Lippert (born in 1898), "Privatdozent" for psychology and pedagogics in Gießen 1932, professorship was withdrawn because of her marriage 1936, "Privatdozent" Mainz 1947-52, head of department for in-service training of teachers in Hessian ministry of education

Apart from these professors two female lecturers taught at the Gießen university (ss 1922 - ss 1924 and ws 1929/30).

3.3.1 Development of Professorate at Gießen university 1918-1945 (fig. 34 - fig. 37)

The striking fact at first glance is an almost continuous increase in the professorate from ws 1918/19 to ss 1933 - interrupted only by some short "statistic vales". After the National Socialist seizure of power the number of the Gießen university teachers diminished up to the year 1939 - also interrupted by several "vales" - and slightly increased during World War II. Largely independent from these fluctuations was the number of professors in ordinary, which remained relatively stable. That means, that the considerable fluctuations in number in the Gießen professorate result almost exclusively from changes among the professors in non-ordinary. A comparison of the development in Gießen data with all German universities shows, that the Gießen university - up to 1933 - reflects the same general "oscillations" as all other universities: the proportion of the Gießen professorate among the German professors remained relatively stable at about 2,9%. After 1933 only sparse figures on German university teachers were published. So a well-grounded statement can be made for some semesters only: the proportion of the Gießen professorate to all German university teachers amounted under National Socialist rule to: 2,8% (ss 1933, ws 1933/34), 3,4% (ss 1934), 2,6% (ws 1934/35, ws 1935/36, ss 1938).(52) At least for the pre-war period a tendentially diminishing share of the Gießen professors in the German professors can be ascertained. Corresponding with a diminishing share of the Gießen students after 1933 (from 2,21% to 1,57%), the contradiction to the National Socialist propaganda of giving preference to small "healthy" province universities instead of "mass-universities" in large cities is evident.(53)

Also the numerical relation between professors and students shows some interesting results:

ws 1918/19	113	professors	: 1.615	students	= 1 : H_3
ws 1923/24	137	professors	: 1.783	students	= 1 : 13,0
ss 1924	144	professors	: 1.623	students	= 1 : n_3
ws 1929/30	166	professors	: 1.756	students	= 1 : 10,6
ws 1932/33	170	professors	: 2.150	students	= 1 : 12,6
ss 1939	151	professors	: 557	students	= 1 : 3,7
3.Trim. 1940	138	professors	: 442	students	= 1 : 3,2
ss 1944	152	professors	: 1.241	students	= 1 : 8,2

The evidently better numerical relation between professors and students after 1933 did not result from efforts to improve the students' situation but from the difficulties to synchronize the enormous decline in students

with the reduction of professor positions. And finally most of the Gießen professors were occupied with duties serving war policy. The medical faculty amounted (ss 1939) to 36 professors, the faculty of natural sciences (second department of the philosophical faculty) amounted to 49 university teachers (ss 1939), i.e. both faculties shaped 56% of the professorate.

Returning to the development before 1933: the increase of non-ordinariats during the Weimar Republic is essentially a continuation of a secular trend: their share at the Gießen university grew from 36% in ss 1900(54) to 54,9% in ws 1918/19 and to 65,9% in ws 1932/33. To clarify the influences of education policy - beside the economic needs - on universities in the Weimar Republic further research will be necessary. Unfortunately analyses on German university policy between 1918 and 1933 as well as studies on single German states like Volksstaat Hessen, Prussia etc. hardly exist.(55) As far as Volksstaat Hessen is concerned, only two political biographies of its most outstanding education politician, Reinhard Strecker, have recently been published.(56) In contrast to these "white spots" in university history, the political consciousness and behaviour of German professors in the Weimar Republic have been researched by several analyses.(57) Nevertheless empiric research on the social origins of their wide-spread anti-republican, anti-semitic, anti-proletarian and sexist consciousness are still missing.(58)

Under German fascism the decline of the Gießen professorate resulted particularly from reductions among the professors in non-ordinary, while the "socle" of professors in ordinary in the same period remained rather stable. To what degree this exterior stability covers an interior change shall be inquired into on the following pages.

Due to the fact that few figures have been published on German universities after 1933, the general development of professors can be described for some semesters only. Nevertheless during the first years of National Socialist rule an interesting process can be seen:

the number of professors in ordinary diminished from 2.048 (ws 1932/33) to 1.716 (ss 1934), the figure of professors in non-ordinary dropped from 4.015 (ws 1932/33) to 3.218 (ss 1934). Already in the next semester (ws 1934/35) 404 new professors in ordinary were to be counted (altogether 2.120), which points to a considerable promotion wave from non-ordinariats to professors in ordinary within a period of few months. Also the chairs of professors in non-ordinary did not remain vacant, but were occupied by new scholars (592 in ws 1934/35, altogether 3.810). In consequence the number of professors became stabilized on a relatively high level - at least as far the available figures demonstrate:

ws 1935/36 : 2.142 professors in ord., 3.746 prof. in non-ord.

ss 1938 : 2.161 professors in ord., 3.292 prof. in non-ord.

After the shock of the first radical cuts (reduction from 6.063 professors in ws 1932/33 to 4.934 in ss 1934) the total number of the German professors rapidly increased near to pre-Nazi dimensions - to 5.930 in ws 1934/35, to 5.888 in ws 1935/46 - and dropped to 5.453 in ss 1938.(59) Also the Gießen university took part in this development: after 9 professors in ordinary and 11 professors in non-ordinary were dismissed in 1933, 9 Ordinariats and 4 non-ordinariats were new occupied. This process of reconstruction - at all German universities - reinforces the suspicion, that the dismissals for "racial" and political reasons had a serious economic function as an aggressive "purge of the academic market".(60)

The research of the distribution of professors at each faculty of the Gießen university shows the following trends:

a) professors in ordinary (cf. fig. 35)

before 1933:

tendentially growing share veterinary science, natural sciences

tendentially stabile share: medicine

tendentially dropping share theology, faculty of law, faculty of the arts, natural sciences

after 1933:

tendentially growing share medicine, veterinary science

tendentially dropping share theology, faculty of law, faculty of the arts, natural sciences

b) professors in non-ordinary (cf. fig. 36)

before 1933:

tendentially growing share theology, faculty of law, natural sciences

tendentially stabile share: veterinary science

tendentially dropping share medicine, faculty of the arts

after 1933:

tendentially growing share medicine, veterinary science

tendentially stabile share: faculty of law

tendentially dropping share theology, faculty of the arts, natural sciences

Striking in this inter-facultative comparison is on one hand the preference of natural sciences at the cost of the arts already during the Weimar Republic. This corresponds with the long-term change of functions in higher learning(61) from imparting of "culture" to imparting of "education" for scientists and teachers, which caused the debates on the "crisis of culture" (Kulturkrise) at the end of the 19th century.(62)

On the other hand the "synchronization" in the personnel policy at the Gießen university after 1933 is evident: cuts and increases among the same sub-groups of scholars and in the same faculties. Undoubtedly this trend was intensified by the dominant function of the Gießen university as military medical academy in World War II: between 3rd trimester 1940 and ss 1944 the number of professors in non-ordinary at the medical faculty increased from 20 to 33, which signifies a rise of 60%. Additionally to this preference of medicine, already before 1939 the reduction of the faculty of the arts and natural sciences (first and second department of the philosophical faculty) began. In the department of the arts the number of professors in non-ordinary continuously sank from 26 (ws 1935/36) to 16 (ss 1942), in the department of natural sciences their number fell from 42 (ws 1933/34) to 25 (ss 1941). The drastic reductions also among the natural sciences do not prove a general neglect of these important disciplines (for war preparation) by National Socialist university policy. For such tasks the technical universities (Technische Hochschulen) were primarily qualified.

As opposed to relative stabile absolute numbers of professors in ordinary there are interior changes to be observed: under National Socialist rule the department of natural sciences lost its preferential position in favour of the medical faculty while veterinary science continued to be favoured.

A long-term comparison between humanities and natural sciences (including medicine) does not show a definite priority before 1933 (cf. fig. 37). After 1933 a tendential growth of natural sciences - interrupted by several "vales" - can be seen: the result of the expansion of the medical faculty

and the decline of the humanities. Because of its specific faculty structure before 1933 and because of its specific function after 1939, the results of the research into the share of faculties at the Gießen university are transferable only by considering these conditions.

3.3.2 Migration of Gießen Professors 1918-1945 (cf. fig. 38, fig. 39)

The purpose of this focus is to give information about the "rank" of the Gießen university within the hierarchy of German universities and to demonstrate eventual changes in its position under National Socialist rule. The figures for the whole of the university indicate opposite "streams" of professors before and after 1933. While in the Weimar Republic altogether somewhat more professors came to the Gießen university than left it (69 : 66), under National Socialism more professors left Gießen than came to this university (76 : 62). Adding the scholars dismissed for "racial" or political reasons (cf. chapter 3.3.7), the reduction of the Gießen university is still greater: compared with 62 new occupied chairs 107 professors left the university.

A comparison between the Gießen faculties (cf. fig. 38) shows considerable differences:

- relative "stable" faculties ("immigration" and "emigration" on the same level):
 - before 1933: veterinary faculty
 - after 1933: philosophical faculty I (department of the arts)
- "more attractive" faculties (more "immigration" than "emigration"):
 - before 1933: theological faculty, medical faculty, philosophical faculty II (natural sciences)
 - after 1933: veterinary faculty
- "less attractive" faculties (more "emigration" than "immigration"):
 - before 1933: faculty of law, philosophical faculty I (department of the arts)
 - after 1933: theological faculty, faculty of law, medical faculty, philosophical faculty II (natural sciences)

This comparison only indicates the exchange between the Gießen faculties and other German or foreign universities, which is not, of course, identical with expanding or declining faculties. For example the faculty of law with a definite brain-drain (before and after 1933) grew in absolute figures in the Weimar Republic - the loss of scholars was over-compensated by "home careers" which started at the Gießen university.

As far as the universities connected with Gießen are concerned (cf. fig. 39), we can state the following results:

before 1933: frequent "immigration" from southern German universities (Tübingen, München, TH Darmstadt, Frankfurt/Main, Freiburg, Würzburg)

frequent "emigration" to Prussian universities (Marburg, Breslau, Leipzig, Halle, Bonn, Berlin) and universities in southern Germany (Heidelberg, München, Würzburg)

after 1933: considerably less "immigration" from southern German universities (only Tübingen is represented on a comparable level), but higher "immigration" from Prussian and central German universities (Göttingen, Rostock, Jena)

significantly increasing "emigration" to Prussian Universities (Berlin, Leipzig, Frankfurt/Main, Göttingen, Münster, Königsberg) and some southern universities (Freiburg, Heidelberg, München, Würzburg)

In the Weimar Republic Gießen fulfilled the function of a "turn-table" between southern and Prussian universities in south-north direction. Due to the National Socialist policy of centralization this exchange was supplemented by an exchange between Gießen and the Prussian universities in the north-south direction. The changes of "streams" of professors also depended on the faculties development: e.g. 5 out of 8 "immigrant" professors, who came from Tübingen before 1933, were appointed to the theological faculty. As this faculty declined, also its share in academic exchange diminished after 1933.

3.3.3 Appointments to Gießen (cf. fig. 40 - fig. 42)

The purpose of these figures is to answer the question, whether the National Socialist university policy served a rejuvenescence of the professorate. In comparing the number of professors in ordinary and non-ordinary, it can be noted that the share of newly appointed scholars among professors in ordinary grew quicker in the first years of the National Socialist rule than among their non-ordinary colleagues (cf. fig. 40). This may result from the greater reservoir of professors in non-ordinary who only waited for a chance of promotion. Nevertheless in both sub-groups of university teachers, at the latest 5 years after fascist seizure of power, about 50% of scholars were newly appointed to Gießen. An analysis of these newly appointed scholars shows, that by far most of them started their academic career after 30.1.1933 - in Gießen or at another German university (cf. fig. 41). Such a great proportion of "beginners" also contributed to the change in the age-groups among the Gießen professorate (cf. fig. 42). Particularly among the professors in ordinary the share of younger professors grew evidently: while the age-group "31 - 40" before 1933 amounted to 30,3%, this group increased to 47,3% after 1933. Corresponding to this development the proportion of the age-group "41 - 50" declined from 50% to 36,4%. Because of the generally lower age the changes among the professors in non-ordinary stayed within smaller dimensions. The share of the age-group "31 - 40" increased from 63,1% before 1933 to 67,4% after 1933. The age of the Gießen professorate amounted on an average to:

professors in ordinary: 43,5 before, 42,5 after 1933,

professors in non-ordinary: 36,2 before, 36,1 after 1933.

3.3.4 Regional Origin (cf. fig. 43 and fig. 44)

Significant in the regional origin (cf. fig. 43) of the Gießen professors is the evident predominance of Prussian provinces (excluding Hessen-Nassau in the neighbourhood) before and after 1933. Also the National Socialists' efforts for higher exchange between Gießen and the central German universities only slightly reduced this proportion, because most of these new partner universities were located in Prussia as well. Another reason for Prussia's predominance was its greater population: e.g. in 1933 Prussia counted 39,69 mill. inhabitants, Volksstaat Hessen only 1,42 mill inhabitants.⁽⁶³⁾ Interesting is also the greater share of Hessian "natives" among professors in non-ordinary - about 18% in opposition to only 5,5% (before and after 1933) among the professors in ordinary. This fact points at the difficulties of continuing a university career in Gießen. Because the "socio" of ordina-

riats remained relatively stable, numerous scholars had to leave this only university of the Volksstaat Hessen to become professors in ordinary "abroad".

Also the National Socialists' declarations of preferring province universities at the cost of large city universities did not change this disproportion.

Compared to the Gießen students these disparities become still more distinct. While about 12% of Gießen professors came from Volksstaat Hessen, among (male) Gießen students between 1918 and 1945 approximately 50% came from there.(64) The possible less diversified education system in Hessen is therefore not the cause of this disproportion. Responsible for the evidently low proportion of Hessian professors might be their social origin (cf. fig. 45 - 47). Also when adding the shares of professors from Volksstaat Hessen and of the Prussian province Hessen-Nassau we can state a decline in the long run: among the professors in ordinary from 11,9% to 8,3%, among the professors in non-ordinary from 25,4% to 21,5%. The only considerable consequence of the centralization policy as far as this regional distribution is concerned, was an increase in the share of Bavarians from 8,3% before to 16,7% after 1933.

With such a small proportion of professors coming from the agrarian structured Volksstaat Hessen, also a lower proportion of scholars born in rural communities was to be expected. But the results of the research into the distribution of birthplaces were different (cf. fig. 44). The quota of scholars coming from communities smaller than 2.000 inhabitants increased from 18,3% to 25,0% after 1933 among professors in ordinary, among the professors in non-ordinary this quota amounted to 20,9% resp. 19,9%. According to these figures, the National Socialist policy reduced the traditional disadvantages of rural population at least among the professors in ordinary(65). Considering the evidently small proportion of the Gießen professors born in Volksstaat Hessen, the relatively higher share of rural origin indicates a presence of scholars from other German states (Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg etc.) in this category. Nevertheless the Gießen professorate - before and after 1933 - was in its majority recruited from communities greater than 20.000 (about 60%) and greater than 100.000 (about 35%) inhabitants. Among the Gießen students during the period under study about 30% descended from communities of less than 2.000 inhabitants resp. 50% came from communities of less than 5.000 inhabitants.(66) The reasons for this relative under-representation of professors from villages and rural cities (Landstädte) might be found in the social structure of the Gießen professorate which will be described in the next chapter.

3.3.5 Social Origin (cf.fig. 45 - fig. 47)

As far as the father's profession is concerned, the cumulated social profile of the Gießen professorate shows the following results (cf. fig. 45):

a) professors in ordinary

before 1933: were particularly sons of merchants, farmers, teachers, clergymen, physicians and pharmacists

after 1933: were mainly sons of teachers, clergymen, physicians, pharmacists, soldiers and merchants

In both periods under study a mixed social structure can be seen: a group of lower and upper middle-class (merchants, farmers and teachers versus

physicians and clergymen) and simultaneously the predominance of the old middle-class (merchants, farmers, physicians). Conspicuous is the upward trend of teachers sons who displaced the children of merchants from their leading position, which also symbolizes the ascent of salaried professors.

In comparison with the Gießen students before and after 1933 the smaller importance of civil servants - excluding teachers - is evident: between 14 and 11% among students(6y), between 5,0 and 5,9% among the professors in ordinary.

b) professors in non-ordinary

before 1933: especially came from families of teachers, merchants, higher civil servants, entrepreneurs, farmers, physicians/pharmacists and low/intermediate civil servants

after 1933: particularly came from families of teachers, physicians/pharmacists, merchants, higher civil servants, professors, low/intermediate civil servants and farmers.

With a certain "time-lag", the generally younger professors in non-ordinary (see chapter 3.3.3) represented a greater social spectrum. In particular the teacher sons seemed to be an "ice-breaker" for civil servants. In their succession the children of low, intermediate and higher civil servants entered the Gießen professorate in a degree worth mentioning.

Against this social background we can return to the problem formulated above, the under-representation of scholars born in Volksstaat Hessen. Because of their low absolute numbers (prof, in ord.: 6 before and after 1933> prof, in non-ord.: 32 before, 29 after 1933) and because of the fragmentary reconstruction of their social origin, such an analysis has, of course, to be appropriately careful, although the figures suggest an interdependence.

A subdivision of the fathers' profession shows, that among the professors in ordinary before 1933 there are no sons of university graduates! Among the professors in non-ordinary with their greater share of Hessian "natives" at least 35,0% had an academically trained father. After 1933 the rate of children of academic fathers among the professors in non-ordinary increased up to 56,2% (9 out of 16). Among professors in ordinary the social origin is known only in two cases, of which one is of a family with academic background.

On the other hand the analysis of Gießen scholars born in Prussian provinces (excluding Hessen-Nassau) results in the following structure:

professors in ordinary before 1933 35,3% of these scholars had a father with a university degree, after 1933 this share declined to 27,8%

professors in non-ord.before 1933 the quota of children of academic fathers amounted to 38,1%, after 1933 their proportion fell to 33,3%.

These relations point to a frequent "academic background" which obviously promotes the entrance into the Gießen professorate, although the university degree of fathers is no imperative precondition, as the generally high rates of children from non-academic families prove. Complementary to the proportions of the Gießen scholars from other Prussian provinces an interesting

development is to state. After 1933, when the share of Prussian "natives" from non-academic families declined, also their quota in the Gießen professorate slightly fell: among the professors in ordinary from 44.0 to 41.7%, among the professors in non-ordinary from 42.9 to 39.3%.

Two comparisons may serve to judge the representativity of the Gießen professorate. The first study is to be quoted although it was undertaken in 1907, the reason being that later research in this variable unfortunately is not subdivided into professors in ordinary and non-ordinary.

According to an enquête from 1907 (68), the social origin of the German "Extraordinarien" (senior lecturers) and "Privatdozenten" was the following (N = 2.182K69):

German "Extraordinarien" and "Privatdozenten" in 1907 (N = 2.182)			German professors in non-ordinary at the Gießen university ws 1918/19 - ws 1932/33 (N = 109)		
	:	%		:	%
manufacturers, merchants, landed proprietors	:	37,1		:	23,8
intellectuals	:	32,8		:	7,3
higher civil servants and officers	:	11,7		:	13,7
liberal professions and pensioners	:	8,2		:	11,0
lower civil servants, teachers, craftsmen	:	10,3		:	25,7

In this comparison only such professions of the fathers' of Gießen scholars were recorded, which were definitely comparable to the older study. For this reason professions like farmer, manager and clergyman are not included. The results of the research in the representativity of the Gießen university are also interesting when considering the time-gap between these two studies. The lower proportion of self-employed professions among the fathers of the Gießen scholars results especially from the fact, that the term "farmer" seems to be unprecisely defined and was not included into the comparison. For example the category of "landed proprietors" (Landbesitzer) accents the sub-group of landlords (Gutsbesitzer), while the category "farmer" also includes the subsistence farmers.

The evidently lower proportion of "intellectuals" among the fathers of the Gießen professors in non-ordinary can be explained by the fact, that only "professor" was comparable to this category. Other professions like writers, artists etc. were missing among the Gießen scholars. As opposed to this, the representation of higher civil servants and liberal professions among the Gießen professors in non-ordinary correspond more or less with the general trends among the German professors. Yet we can state a definite overproportional share of children of lower and intermediate civil servants among the Gießen professorate, which indicates the obviously exceptional position of the Gießen university.

The second, newer study(70) on the social origin of the German professors shows the following results, these are contrasted with the figures from the Gießen university:

	German professors 1920-1933 (N=2.315) %	Gießen professors ws 1918/19- ws 1932/33 (N=137) %	German professors 1933-1944 (N=1.534) %	Gießen professors ss 1933- ww 1944/45 (N=122) %
fathers' profession				
professor	9,1	7,3	8,7	8,2
teacher	11,6	13,9	13,9	18,8
higher civil servant	6,4	10,9	6,8	8,2
lawyer	0,7	0,7	0,9	1,6
physician	8,5	8,7	7,0	10,6
artist/writer	2,3	-	1,8	-
entrepreneur	4,1	9,5	2,6	5,7
craftsman	3,2	2,2	4,4	1,6
merchant	14,7	13,9	11,1	9,8
pensioner	1,2	0,7	0,3	-
manager (salary dependent)	4,2	5,1	5,1	5,7
officer	2,1	2,9	1,9	5,7
farmer/landed proprietor	5,3	10,9	4,0	8,2
low/intermediate civil servant	7,1	6,6	11,7	5,7
low/intermediate employee	1,4	-	2,7	-
worker	1,4	-	2,1	0,8

In opposition to the first cited study from 1907 this research with its more precise categories generally shows relatively high correspondences to the figures of the Gießen university. Specific deviations at the university of Gießen can be ascertained

before 1933: higher quota of children of teachers, higher civil servants, entrepreneurs and farmers

absence of children of workers, low/intermediate employees and artists

after 1933: higher quota of children of teachers, entrepreneurs, farmers, officers and physicians (presumably connected with the pre-dominance of the medical faculty after 1939)

lower quota of children of craftsmen and lower/intermediate civil servants

absence of children of low/intermediate employees and artists

Of course, in this comparison we have to consider the evidently smaller number of the Gießen professors (N = 137 resp. 122), which influences the proportions to a higher degree than a number of 1.534 or 2.315 individuals. In spite of these distortions the specific structure of the Gießen scholars

can be recognized: relatively high representations of children of civil servants and self-employed professions or, in other words, a dichotome structure of old (lower and upper) middle-class and simultaneously increasing new middle-class.

Supplementary to these results, the quota of fathers with a university degree and of self-employed fathers among the Gießen scholars should be discussed.

In both sub-groups of the Gießen professorate after 1933 an increase of children of academically trained fathers is to be observed (cf. fig. 46). This trend is entirely opposite to the general development among the German professors, whose quota declined from 55% (1910) to 49% (1931) to 44% (1953).⁽⁷¹⁾ According to von FERBER, who published these figures, the reconstruction of the German universities into scientific large-scale enterprises diminished the influences of family traditions (professions).⁽⁷²⁾ On the contrary the reduced proportion of professors with academically trained fathers did not correspond with an "exhaustion" of the academic reservoir, so von FERBER's argument.

Especially the first argument of the "modernization" of the universities could explain the opposite development of Gießen as one of the smallest German universities. Additionally the specific predominance of teachers' children increased the share of fathers with a university degree. Among the Gießen scholars at least 30% of teachers' children had an academically trained father ("Studienrat"). Finally the growing proportion of children of physicians reinforced the "academization" of Gießen scholars after 1933.

The development among the Gießen students is partially different from that of professors. In contrast to the increase of the Gießen scholars of academic background, the students came - up to 1933 - more and more from non-academic families. During National Socialist rule this trend changed towards a re-academization (cf. fig. 18).

Also the variable "self-employed father" shows a development of the Gießen professorate deviating from that of the German scholars: in both sub-groups the quota of self-employed fathers diminished after 1933. While this share among the professors in ordinary declined from 44,1% to 37,5%, among the professors in non-ordinary this share fell from 41,9% to 32,2% (cf. fig. 47). In contrast to these relations in Gießen, the proportion of self-employed fathers among the German professors grew in the same time from 35% to 38%.⁽⁷³⁾ This opposite trend at the Gießen university corresponds on the one hand with its higher level of academization and on the other hand with its higher quota of children of teachers and officers (see above). In comparison to this the share of children of non-academic fathers in salaried professions (low/intermediate civil servants, employees, workers) among the Gießen scholars is evidently lower than among the German university teachers. Such an under-representation of "new" social strata could indicate the slower "modernization" of the Gießen university. As it seems, also National Socialist policy was unable to accelerate this process.

On the side of the (male) Gießen students we can observe a parallel reduction of children from self-employed fathers - up to 1933. Under German fascism also the share of children from self-employed fathers grew complementary to a new academization (cf. fig. 19).

3-3-6 Members of Fascist organisations

3.3.6.1 Shares of Faculties (cf. fig. 48)

a) Members of the NSDAP

The largest faculties of the Gießen university were also - among the professors in ordinary - the focal points for NSDAP-membership. While the NSDAP-members amongst the medical professors were represented proportionally to the share of medical professors at the Gießen university, their colleagues from the departments of the arts and of natural sciences were over- and under-represented respectively (cf. fig. 35). Among the professors in non-ordinary these relations were shifted. The younger medical professors were distinctly over-represented, while their colleagues from the arts were adequately represented and the younger natural scientists were under-represented (cf. fig. 36). Decisive for the classification into the categories "professor in ordinary" or "professor in non-ordinary" was the actual position at the point of joining the NSDAP. The party-members before 1933 have not been separately researched, because during this time only 7 professors at the Gießen university had joined the NSDAP.

In comparison the most frequent study subjects among the Gießen students who joined the NSDAP (before and after 1933) were medicine, jurisprudence and veterinary science. The students of theology belonged to this leading group only before 1933.

b) Members of SA, SS, NSDoB and NSDÄB

Due to the low number of professors in ordinary, both sub-groups of professors were summed up together - except for the members of NSDoB/NSLB. Among the members of the SA, professors of medicine were over-represented, while their colleagues from the arts were adequately represented and the professors of natural sciences were under-represented.

Also among the members of SS the professors of the medical faculty were evidently over-represented, their colleagues from the faculty of the arts were completely absent and the professors of natural science were under-represented.

The faculty structure of NSDoB/NSLB membership(74) shows similar focal points among the professors in ordinary as well as among the professors in non-ordinary: the predominance of medicine (slightly under-represented) and of both departments of the philosophical faculty. Within the sub-group of professors in ordinary members of the natural scientific department were over-represented, while their non-ordinary colleagues were under-represented.

Due to the specific professional character of the NSDÄB(75), only the relations between the faculties of medicine and of veterinary science could be researched. This organisation was almost exclusively a domain of physicians - only one scholar from the faculty of veterinary science was a member of the NSDÄB.

In comparison to their academic teachers, the Gießen students joined these organisations in the following proportions. Members of the SA were particularly recruited from the medical faculty, the faculty of veterinary science, the theological faculty (esp. before 1933) and the faculty of law.

Members of SS came mainly from the medical and veterinary faculty. Members of the National Socialist students' organisation (NSDStB) were prevailing to be found at the medical faculty, the theological faculty (esp. before 1933), the veterinary faculty and the faculty of law. From the department of

the arts (philos.) the future grammar-school teachers (Gymnasiallehrer) were adequately represented before 1933 and over-represented after 1933.

3.3.6.2 Regional Origin (cf. fig. 49 and fig. 50)

a) Members of the NSDAP

Among the professors in ordinary who were also members of the NSDAP, the predominance of Prussian provinces (excluding Hessen-Nassau) is still more marked than among the Gießen scholars (cf. fig. 49). While among the Gießen professorate the share of Prussian "natives" amounted to 41,7% (after 1933), this sub-group shaped 72,4% of the NSDAP-members (only prof. in ord.). On the other hand the professors in ordinary born in Volksstaat Hessen were higher represented among the NSDAP-members than among their academic colleagues. In opposition to that the Gießen professors in ordinary born in Hessen-Nassau, Bavaria, Baden and other German states were under-represented. Among professors in non-ordinary the predominance of Prussians was reduced in favour of the scholars from Bavaria and Baden, while their colleagues from Volksstaat Hessen were under-represented.

The size of the communities in which the NSDAP-scholars were born shows the same distribution as among the Gießen scholars: high quota of villages (up to 2.000 inhabitants), of middle-sized towns and large cities (cf. fig. 50 resp. 44). Only the professors in ordinary from large cities were over-represented within the NSDAP.

Among the student members of the NSDAP we find very different distributions of native countries and size of communities. One third of the NSDAP-members after 1933 was born in Volksstaat Hessen and one third came from other Prussian provinces (excluding Hessen-Nassau). According to this higher share of Hessian students among NSDAP-members, the quota of students from villages (up to 2.000 inhabitants) was also greater than among the professors: 40,7% before and 30,7% after 1933. The proportion of NSDAP-students born in cities larger than 20.000 inhabitants grew under National Socialist rule from 25,3% to 45,9%! So the social focal point was shifted to proportions as we saw above among the Gießen scholars.

b) Members of SA, SS, NSDoB and NSDÄB

The distribution of the native countries of these members tendentially corresponds to those of the NSDAP-professors - only the degree of conformity differ (cf. fig. 49). The results in detail:

Among SA-members, professors born in Volksstaat Hessen were under-represented, while their colleagues from other Prussian provinces were adequately represented. Within the SS, professors from Volksstaat Hessen and from Prussian province Hessen-Nassau were absent, while the scholars from other Prussian provinces were represented according to their high share in the Gießen professorate. Also among the NSDoB the Prussian professors (excluding the scholars from Hessen-Nassau) formed the greatest share. Only the professors in non-ordinary from Volksstaat Hessen had a considerable quota but were slightly under-represented.

The NSDÄB was dominated by Prussian physicians even to a majority of 70%. Also in this organisation Hessian scholars were under-represented. The results concerning student members of these organisations are as follows:

Students in the SA after 1933 came predominantly from Volksstaat Hessen (39,6%) and Prussia (30,3%, excluding Hessen-Nassau). Among student members of the SS (after 1933) 26,7% came from Volksstaat Hessen, the same quota

from other Prussian provinces and 13,3% from Hessen-Nassau. Within the NSDStB 40,0% of the members were recruited from Volksstaat Hessen, 28,5% from other Prussian provinces and 13,1% from Hessen-Nassau.

The distribution of the size of communities shows the following results (cf. fig. 50):

The Gießen professors who joined the SA came predominantly from cities larger than 20.000 inhabitants (57,1%) and from cities larger than 100.000 inhabitants (32,6%). The share of scholars born in villages of less than 2.000 inhabitants amounted to 23,4%, which indicates a predominance of urban professors in the SA. As is to be seen above (cf. chapter 3.3.4) these proportions have relatively high similarity to the structure of the Gießen professorate.

The members of the SS among the Gießen scholars came especially from middle-sized towns (20.000 - 99.999 inhabitants = 40%) and from villages of less than 2.000 inhabitants (20,0%). All other communities were under-represented, particularly large cities. The Gießen professors in ordinary from cities larger than 20.000 inhabitants (58,8%) were the focal point of the NSDoB. The professors in non-ordinary who were members of this organisation also frequently came from villages with less than 2.000 inhabitants (34,1%) and were therefore over-represented. In opposition to this sub-group, the young scholars born in middle-sized cities (20.000 - 99.999 inhabitants) were under-represented.

Among the members of the NSDÄB scholars from villages and large cities were under-represented, while the predominant sub-group of professors from middle-sized cities represented an adequately share.

The results of research into student members:

Within the SA 31,5% of student members were recruited from villages while only 19,6% came from large cities (figures after 1933) - quite in contrast to their academic teachers. The student members of the SS showed a more urban profile: 55,5% were recruited from cities greater than 20.000 inhabitants, while 25,9% came from villages with less than 2.000 inhabitants.

Among the NSDStB-members those born in villages were over-represented in comparison to their fellow students: 30,5% to about 20%. The members from middle-sized cities (21,2%) were adequately represented, while the NSDStB-members from large cities (23,6%) were over-represented.

3.3.6.3 Social Origin (cf. fig. 51 - Fig. 55)

a) Members of the NSDAP

A comparison between the social origin of the Gießen professorate after 1933 and that of the members of the NSDAP shows a relatively high degree of accordance (cf. fig. 51). The sons of higher civil servants and clergymen are under-represented among NSDAP-scholars to a marked degree, while the sons of low/intermediate civil servants and teachers are over-represented. Considerable differences are to be seen in the social profile of student members of the NSDAP (cf. fig. 27). Beside the joint leading group of teachers' sons, evidently higher shares of sons of low/intermediate (before 1933) and higher civil servants and of craftsmen shift the proportions. The higher representation of the lower middle-class among the NSDAP-students especially before 1933 was completed by lower quota of physicians sons. Their rise at the cost of the lower middle-class indicates the changes that took place in the NSDAP itself from a social movement ("Bewegungsphase") to a state-party ("Systemphase").(76) While before 1933 particularly political orientation was decisive for NSDAP-membership, after National Socialist

seizure of power opportunistic reasons like career promotion and the needs for a "guarantee of individual professional liberties"(77) became more and more important.

Fig. 52 shows the proportion of "old" and newly appointed scholars among the Gießen professors who became NSDAP-members. To begin with, there is an extraordinarily high degree of NSDAP-membership to be seen (73,8%) among newly appointed professors (after 30.1.1933). This quota appears to be the highest share of a single profession in NSDAP-membership we know up to now. For example KATER reports a quota of approximately 45% NSDAP-members among German physicians(78), who represented the largest single element between 1933 and 1939 within the party.(79) But the quota of 56,2% NSDAP-members among all Gießen scholars after 1933 exceeded this average number. As far as the social structure of newly appointed professors is concerned, it is the share of teachers' children which grew once again among this sub-group as well as among the party-members. Together with the sons of physicians, they shaped 36,1% of the newly appointed professors and 40,0% of NSDAP-members among them.

As can be seen from the figures 40 and 41 (cf. chapter 3.3.3), these newly appointed scholars were for the most part newcomers who started their academic career at the Gießen university. This may explain their extraordinarily high representation in the NSDAP. Returning to the question above, we can state that of all Gießen scholars who were NSDAP-members after 1933 66,2% were recruited from these newly appointed professors.

The members of fascist organisations were separately researched to prove eventual differences in the social background between professors in ordinary and in non-ordinary (cf. fig. 53).

Due to the low number of NSDAP-professors in ordinary (N = 10) the results are to be interpreted particularly carefully. This small number is possibly the cause of the fact, that the proportion of teachers' sons evidently grew up to 40%, while this group was represented among professors in non-ordinary with 17,5%. Also the absence of sons from traditional middle-class professions like merchant or entrepreneur is possibly to be explained by this small number. The social profile of the Gießen professors in non-ordinary who joined the NSDAP shows the same majorities as the whole of the NSDAP-professorate: a predominance of sons of teachers, physicians and low/intermediate civil servants.

b) Members of SA, SS, NSDoB and NSDÄB

Also among the professors who joined the SA, teachers' sons were the greatest sub-group (24,5%), followed by the sons of merchants and physicians (14,3% resp. 12,2%). While the sons of teachers and merchants were over-represented, the children of higher civil servants and clergymen were under-represented. Among the SA-students the sons of low/intermediate civil servants (before 1933), of teachers, higher civil servants and of farmers (all before and after 1933) were the greatest sub-groups.

The scholars who joined the SS, came particularly from families of teachers, physicians and farmers. Due to the small absolute number of members (N = 12), only a fragmentary social spectrum was represented. This might explain the absence of professions like higher civil servants which could be expected in such an "elite"-organisation of National Socialists. Exactly this profession of the traditional elite (higher civil servant) was the highest represented-one among the families of SS-students (cf. fig. 27), followed by the sons of physicians, teachers and low/intermediate civil servants. Also the members of NSDoB came predominantly from teachers' families, followed by sons of farmers and clergymen. Surprisingly the sons of physicians

were slightly under-represented: 8,3% against 10,7% among all Gießen professors after 1933.

The members of the NSDStB before 1933 had their social focal point among the sons of low/intermediate civil servants, before and after 1933 among the sons of teachers and higher civil servants. Teachers' sons shaped the leading group also within the NSDÄB, followed by sons of physicians and higher civil servants. From the lower middle-class only the children of farmers and merchants were represented.

As a supplement to these results, the "academic background" of the fathers of the Gießen scholars who were also members of fascist organisations should be discussed (cf. fig. 54).

In comparison to the "academic background" of the Gießen professors in ordinary after 1933, the sub-group of NSDAP-members had a marked non-academic descent. This result is not necessarily representative because of the extremely small number of professors under study (N = 7). In contrast, the share of professors in non-ordinary who came from academic families is higher among NSDAP-members than among all other Gießen professors in non-ordinary (cf. fig. 46). The student members of the NSDAP after 1933 also had a share of academically trained fathers smaller than half of the quota of professors in non-ordinary (cf. fig. 32). According to KATER the proportion of academic professionals among all NSDAP-members amounted in 1933 to 3,0% and in 1939 only to 1,6%.(80)

Among the scholars who joined the SA, the sons of academically trained fathers were slightly under-represented (cf. fig. 46). Nevertheless this share was evidently higher than among the students joining the SA (50% to 12,5% before and 17,3% after 1933, cf. fig. 32).

The share of fathers with university degrees among the SS-scholars corresponds to the quota of all professors in non-ordinary after 1933 (54,5% to 54,2%). Among the Gießen students who joined the SS, only 30,2% had an academically trained father (cf. fig. 32). Of members of the NSDoB surprisingly only a share of 34,8% had fathers with university degrees, the members of the NSDStB after 1933 had a quota of 22,3% (cf. fig. 32).

Among the scholars who were members of the NSDÄB 60% came from academic families, but also these figures are based on a very small recording unit (N = 10).

The final focal point of the research into members of fascist organisations among the Gießen professorate is the self-employment of the fathers (cf. fig- 55)

The NSDAP-professors in ordinary of self-employed fathers were slightly under-represented (N = 12), while their non-ordinary colleagues were over-represented (37,7% to 32,3%, cf. fig. 47). Among the NSDAP-students the share of sons of self-employed fathers amounted to 33,5% before and 35,2% after 1933 (cf. fig. 33). The sons of self-employed fathers among the SA-scholars were over-represented in comparison to all their non-ordinary colleagues at the Gießen university: 42,5% to 32,3% (cf. fig. 47).

Among the SA-students this share amounted to 34,2% before and 36,4% after 1933 (cf. fig. 33).

The Gießen scholars who joined the SS had an over-proportional quota of self-employed fathers of 50% (N = 12!). This share among the SS-students amounted only to 34,0% (cf. fig. 33).

Of the members of NSDoB 35,7% had a self-employed father, which indicates a slight over-representation. Among the members of NSDStB this share stayed on the same level: 33,3% before and 33,8% after 1933.

The social profile of the NSDÄB-members shows a proportion of 46,1% of self-employed fathers and thus a considerable over-representation (N = 13!).

3.3.6.4 "Types" of National Socialist Professors

Based on the frequencies of each fascist organisation a "typical" professor is definable in the following way.

At the Gießen university the "typical" NSDAP-professor in ordinary came from the faculty of medicine or of the arts, was born in a Prussian large city and was a teachers' son. The "typical" NSDAP-professor in non-ordinary also taught at the medical faculty, stood at the beginning of his academic career(81) and was born in a Prussian middle-sized or large city as son of a teacher. The "typical" SA-professor was also a professor in non-ordinary of the medical faculty. He was born in a large Prussian city also as son of a teacher. The "representative" SS-scholar was a professor in non-ordinary in medicine, from a middle-sized town in Prussia and son of a teacher. The "representative" NSDoB-professor in ordinary taught natural sciences and came from a Prussian large city or middle-sized town (no priority of a specific profession of the father). Their younger colleagues of NSDoB mostly came from the medical or philosophical faculty, were born in a Prussian village or large city and were also the sons of teachers. The "typical" member of NSDAB came from a Prussian middle-sized town and was the son of a teacher (!).

Taking aside all coarse simplifications of such a "typology" some trends become visible. Particularly the high representation of young medicine scholars within each National Socialist organisation is evident. This close connection needs further research which has begun only several years ago.(82) This high representation of specific scholar sub-groups may not be allowed to cover the general problem of the National Socialist basis among German university teachers.(83) To answer these questions, not only a differentiation between the faculties, between older and younger scholars, sons of academic trained fathers etc. will be necessary - also a distinction between different phases (before and after 1933, before and after 1939) will be required.

3.3.7 Professors, dismissed after 30.1.1933 (cf. fig. 56 - fig. 59)

A study of the social situation and political orientation of German professors before and during National Socialism would be incomplete without focusing attention on the victims of the university policy after 1933. Of course, it is not possible to describe the psychic burden(84) of each victim and the danger of death of many dismissed scholars by figures. But figures perhaps can help to clarify, whether these professors were the victims of a "racial delusion" or the victims of an economic rationality.

The focal point of the dismissals(85) was the department of the arts (philosophical faculty I), which lost 17 scholars, that is 54.8% of all dismissed professors. Although the department of natural sciences (philos. II) as well as the medical faculty numbered more scholars (57 resp. 42 in ws 1932/33) they were less touched by the dismissals.(86) From the department of natural sciences 6 professors and from the medical faculty 4 scholars were dismissed (cf. fig. 56). Conspicuously the department of the arts is that faculty, which had been relatively reduced already before 1933 (cf. fig. 35 and 36). Also after National Socialist seizure of power the decline of this faculty, which was not so evidently important to war policy, continued. The distribution of dismissals for political and "racial" reasons(87) becomes more evident in a comparison of the different age-groups than in a comparison of the faculties. In a subdivision into age-groups it is to be seen, that the

focal point of political dismissals was among the age-group "31 - 60", while the dismissals for "racial" reasons particularly concerned the scholars between 51 and 70 years of age (cf. fig. 57). In other words: the Gießen professors in ordinary were more frequently the victims of "racial" motivated dismissals, while especially their younger colleagues in non-ordinary were dismissed for political reasons. In the face of this distribution also the differentiation between "politically" and "racially" motivated dismissals becomes more relative. Indeed there were cases of exclusively politically motivated dismissals of Jewish scholars, e.g. in cases of Privatdozent Alfred Storch or a.o. Prof. Julius Lewy.(88) The juristic basis of the dismissals, the "law for the restoration of the officialdom" (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums, 7.4.1933) even offered a "carte blanche". According to § 6 of this law also dismissals for reasons of the "simplification of the administration" ("zur Vereinfachung der Verwaltung") were planned.(89)

The social profile of dismissed professors shows a predominance of children of merchants, clergymen, professors, entrepreneurs and physicians (cf. fig. 58), which indicates a majority of liberal and/or academic professions. In contrast to this the prevailing fathers' professions among the Gießen scholars like teacher and other civil servants (low, intermediate, high) were under-represented among the dismissed professors. As far as the German professors are concerned, von FERBER stated among the dismissed scholars an over-representation of children of professors, lawyers, entrepreneurs, merchants and pensioners, while the children of teachers, low/intermediate civil servants, judges, clergymen, employees and farmers were under-represented.(90) This distribution indicates a predominance of "old" elites.

Finally information should be given about the extent of emigration (cf. fig. 59).(91) From 31 dismissed Gießen scholars 11 emigrated - particularly Jewish professors and predominantly to the USA.(92) After 1945 two professors in ordinary returned to a German university, none of them returned to Gießen.

4. CONCLUSION

The different political conditions also changed the structure and the function of the Gießen university. During the Weimar Republik we can state:

- relatively synchronous development of the Gießen university with the development of the German universities
- increase particularly among the professors in non-ordinary
- expansion of the natural sciences
- tendential decline of the humanities
- function of the Gießen university as a "turn-table" in the migration of scholars between southern German and Prussian universities in the south-north direction
- "social opening" of the Gießen professorate among the professors in non-ordinary (sons of teachers, low/intermediate civil servants)
- the Gießen university as an "impasse" for professors in non-ordinary (pressure for "emigration")

Under the National Socialist rule there is to be ascertained:

- tendential decline of the share of the Gießen professorate among the German scholars

- interruption of a secular trend: decline of the professors in non-ordinary instead of increase
- policy of "synchronization": promotion and reduction of both sub-groups of university teachers within the same faculties (promotion of the medical and the veterinary faculty, reduction of the department of the arts and of the natural sciences etc.)
- political and "racial" motivated dismissals as means of personnel policy: reduction of declining faculties (philosophical faculty I), reduction of old elites, new positions for young scholars
- rejuvenescence of professorate (especially professor in ordinary)
- growing exchange with the Prussian universities
- preference of large-city universities at the cost of small universities in spite of opposite declarations (cf. numbers of immatriculations, migration of professors after 1933)
- continuity of "Prussian predominance" among the Gießen professorate
- upward-trend of children of salaried professions (especially of the officialdom) among the Gießen scholars.

A comparison between the Gießen students and professors shows a growing share of students from the "new social strata" (esp. non-academic salaried professions of the lower middle-class), but a more traditional social profile among the scholars. Particularly the children from these new social strata (teachers, low/intermediate civil servants) were to be found among the members of National Socialist organisations - among the students as well as the professors. On the side of the scholars the social spectrum was completed by the sons of physicians and merchants.

Although the National Socialist professors mostly stood at the beginning of their academic career, a comparison with the students who joined fascist organisations before and after 1933 causes some difficulties: for example the evidently small number of professors who joined National Socialist Organisations before 1933, the very different quota of academically trained fathers among the students and the scholars, the different regional origins, the "disappearance" of highly active students (before 1933) of theology, jurisprudence and veterinary science who were almost absent among the National Socialist professors after 1933. These and other problems - e.g. the different career-types of professors - will need further research.

FOOTNOTES

- 47 Die Universität Gießen 1607-1907. Bd. II: Dozentenverzeichnis, Gießen 1907;
Ludwigs-Universität. Justus-Liebig-Hochschule. Festschrift zur 350-Jahresfeier, Gießen 1957, p. 451 ff.;
Gundel, Hans-Georg/Moraw, Peter/Press, Volker (eds.): Gießener Gelehrte in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts (= Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, in Verbindung mit der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, vol. 35: Lebensbilder aus Hessen, vol. 2), Marburg 1982.
- 48 For complexity of students' data cf. chapter 2.1 and fig. 2 of part one of this contribution, in: Historical Social Research No. 38 (1986), p. 41 ff.
- 49 Based on Deutsches Gemeindeverzeichnis, Frankfurt/Main 1972 (= reprint from 1930).
- 50 Based on Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Gemeinden mit einer Wohnbevölkerung von 2000 und mehr Einwohnern, in: Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, vol. 401, Teil I, p. 160-171.

- 51 cf. chapter 2.3, 2.3.1 and 2.3.10 in part one of this contribution (see footnote 48).
- 52 figures for German universities from:
ss 1933, ws 1933/34: Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich, Berlin 1933 tt.
ss 1934: Deutsche Hochschulstatistik. Mit einer textlichen Darstellung. Hrsg. von dem Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung und den Hochschulverwaltungen, vol. 13: Sommerhalbjahr 1933, Berlin 1933, p. 28.
ws 1934/35, ws.1935/36: Statistisches Jahrbuch für das deutsche Reich. Berlin 1935 ff. (p. 525 resp. p. 548).
ss 1938: Ferber, Christian von: Die Entwicklung des Lehrkörpers der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen 1864-1954, Göttingen 1956, p. 195 (= Untersuchungen zur Lage der deutschen Hochschullehrer, hrsg. von Helmut Plessner, vol. III). The figures were recorded for "1938", without subdivision into semesters.
- 53 cf. chapter 2.3.1 in part one of this contribution (see footnote 48).
After drastic reductions up to ss 1935, the quota of large city universities grew to ss 1939 on higher level than in pre-Nazi era: while the share of Berlin, Frankfurt/M., Hamburg, Köln, Leipzig, München and Münster altogether amounted to 45,8% in ss 1932, these universities numbered 48,5% of German students in ss 1939; cf. Lorenz, Charlotte von: Zehnjahresstatistik des Hochschulbesuchs und der Abschlußprüfungen, vol. 1, Berlin 1943, p. 38, 56 f;
Hartshorne, Edward Y.: The German Universities and National Socialism, London 1937, p. 85; Hartshorne became in 1945 university officer for Greater Hesse (Groß-Hessen), which was composed by former Volksstaat Hessen and Prussian province Hessen-Nassau, while the former province Rheinhessen (capital: Mainz on Rhine) came from Volksstaat Hessen to the new created Land Rheinland-Pfalz.
- 54 Apfelstedt, Heinrich: Professoren und Studenten der Ludoviciana in der Universitätsstatistik, in: Nachrichten der Gießener Hochschulgesellschaft, vol. 6, H.2 (1927/28), Gießen 1928, p. 21-30, here p.23.
- 55 For first studies cf.: Heinemann, Manfred (ed.): Sozialisation und Bildungswesen in der Weimarer Republik. Mit einer Einleitung von Wilhelm Roessler. Stuttgart 1976;
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- 56 Nees, Ernst Dieter: Reinhard Strecker (1876-1951). Lebensweg und Gedankenwelt eines Demokraten, in: Mitteilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins, Neue Folge, 70. Bd., Gießen 1985, p. 1-58;
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- 57 Sontheimer, Kurt: Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933, München 1962; same author: Die Haltung der deutschen Universitäten zur Weimarer Republik, in: Nationalsozialismus und die deutsche Universität.

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- For the Gießen university cf.: Anderhub, Andreas: Das Antoniterkreuz in Eisen. Zur Geschichte der Universität Gießen während des Ersten Weltkriegs. Gießen 1979, p. 57 ff;
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- 58 For the social origin of the German professors in Weimar Republic cf. Ferber, Christian von: Die Entwicklung des Lehrkörpers der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen 1864-1954, Göttingen 1956, col. 163-186.
- 59 All Figures base on the same sources as in footnote 52.
- 60 According to Hans Huber, Oberregierungsrat at the Reichsministry for science, education and people's education (Volksbildung), between 1933 and 1938 on an average 45% of scientific employments in civil servant status were newly occupied (cf. Huber, Hans: Der Aufbau des deutschen Hochschulwesens. Vortrag, gehalten auf der dritten fachwissenschaftlichen Woche für Universitätsbeamte der Verwaltungsakademie Berlin am 30. Januar 1939, hrsg. von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, Berlin 1939, p. 7). Further publications on National Socialist university policy: Rust, Bernhard: Nationalsozialismus und Wissenschaft. Rede zum 550-jährigen Jubiläum der Universität Heidelberg, in: Das nationalsozialistische Deutschland und die Wissenschaft (= Schriften des Reichsinstituts für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands), Hamburg 1936; Rust was Reichsminister for science, education and people's education (Volksbildung) from 1934 to 1945; Wissenschaft und Vierjahresplan. Reden anlässlich der Kundgebung des NSD-Dozentenbundes Gau Groß-Berlin am Montag, dem 18. Januar 1937, in der Neuen Aula der Universität Berlin, ed.: NSD-Dozentenbund Gau Groß-Berlin, o.O., o.J. (Berlin 1937);
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- 61 Weber, Max: Wissenschaft als Beruf (1919), in: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur
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- 66 cf. fig. 8 in part one of this contribution (see footnote 48).
- 67 cf. fig. 16 in part one of this contribution.

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- 70 Ferber, Christian von: Die Entwicklung des Lehrkörpers der deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen 1864-1954, Göttingen 1956, here p. 163-186, esp. p. 177 f.
- 71 op.cit., p. 185.
- 72 op.cit., p. 179.
- 73 op.cit., p. 185 f.
- 74 For National Socialist German University Teachers' Union (NSDoB) cf.: Hartshorne, Edward Y. (see footnote 53), p. 127 ff.; Kelly, Reece C: National Socialism and German university teachers. The NSDAP's efforts to create a National Socialist professoriate and scholarship. Diss. University of Washington 1973; same author: Die gescheiterte nationalsozialistische Personalpolitik und die mißlungene Entwicklung der nationalsozialistischen Hochschulen, in: Heinemann, Manfred (ed.): Erziehung und Schulung im Dritten Reich (see footnote 60), p. 61-76; Faust, Anselm: Professoren für die NSDAP. Zum politischen Verhalten der Hochschullehrer 1932/33, in: Heinemann, Manfred (ed.): Erziehung und Schulung im Dritten Reich (see footnote 60), p. 31-49; Kater, Michael H.: Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung an den deutschen Hochschulen. Zum politischen Verhalten akademischer Lehrer bis 1939, in: Vogel, Hans-Jochen et al. (ed.): Die Freiheit des Anderen. Festschrift für Martin Hirsch, Baden-Baden 1981, p. 49-75.
- As far as the NSDo at the Gießen university is concerned, only a few documents could be found. Presumably these files were destroyed in the final phase of National Socialist rule. According to a letter of Prof. Cermak, Rektor of the Justus-Liebig-Hochschule Gießen, "files of the Dozentenbund are missing here" ("Akten des Dozentenbundes sind hier nicht vorhanden", letter Rektor Cermak to former Dozent for mathematics, Helmut Grunsky, 27.10.1947, personnel file Helmut Grunsky in Archiv der Präsidialabteilung der Justus-Liebig-Universität).
- 75 cf. Zapp, Albert: Untersuchungen zum Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Ärztebund, Med.Diss. Kiel 1979; Lilienthal, Georg: Der Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Ärztebund (1929-1943/45): Wege zur Gleichschaltung und Führung der deutschen Ärzteschaft, in: Kudlien, Friedolf et al.: Ärzte im Nationalsozialismus, Köln 1985, p. 105-121; also the files of the NSDÄB of the Gießen university could not be found in the archives.
- 76 cf. Kater, Michael H.: The Nazi Party. A social profile of members and leaders 1919-1945 Oxford 1983, p. 51 ff, 169 ff., 234 ff; Falter, Jürgen W. (ed.): Der Aufstieg der NSDAP im Spiegel der Wahlen (announced for 1986 by Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen); Schieder, Wolfgang (ed.): Faschismus als soziale Bewegung, Deutschland und Italien im Vergleich, Hamburg 1976.
- 77 Kater, Michael H. (see footnote 76), p. no.; see also p. 132.
- 78 op. cit., p. 112. In opposition to that e.g. the chamber of physicians (Ärtekammer) of Hessen-Nassau in 1936 numbered about 33% NSDAP-members (cf. Hadrich, J.: Die Ärztekammern für Hessen-Nassau und Kurhessen in der Statistik, in: Ärzteblatt für Hessen-Nassau und Kurhessen, Jg. 1937, p. 101).
- 79 cf. Kater, Michael H. (see footnote 76), p. no.
- 80 op. cit., p. 252t, 268.

- 81 This confirms Rater's estimate: "It was more common for the younger than the older faculty members to sport Nazi party membership pins in their lapels..." (op. cit., p. 69).
- 82 Baader, Gerhard/Schultz, Ulrich (eds.): Medizin und Nationalsozialismus. Tabuisierte Vergangenheit - ungebrochene Tradition? (= Dokumentation des Gesundheitstages West-Berlin 1980, vol. 1). (West-)Berlin 1980.
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For the Gießen university cf. Jakobi, Helga/Chroust, Peter/Hamann, Matthias: Äskulap und Hakenkreuz. Zur Geschichte der Medizinischen Fakultät in Gießen zwischen 1933 und 1945, Gießen 1982.
Reifenrath, Brigitte: "... für die Erneuerung des kranken deutschen Volkes" - Gießener Mediziner auf dem Weg in den Nationalsozialismus, in: Böhles, Hand-Jürgen et al.: Frontabschnitt Hochschule. Die Gießener Universität im Nationalsozialismus, Gießen 1982, p. 187-222.
- 83 "At the university, Nazis are as rare as in the bureaucracy", exclaimed a participant at a meeting of NSDAP officials and schoolteachers in 1936 (Kater, Michael H. (see footnote 76), p. no)
Even a Hessian functionary of the NSDAP-Kreisleitung Wetterau, an early base of the Nazis before 1933 and near to Gießen, complained in 1939 that "to date university lecturers as a whole have shown few signs of being inspired by Nazism" (Kater, op. cit., p. no).
To judge the real basis of fascism among the Gießen professorate, a subdivision into the different phases of National Socialist movement and rule as well as into the different faculties, age-groups etc. will be necessary. For example in 1938 the Gießen Rektor Seiser reported to the Reichsstatthalter in Hessen, that there is no lack of National Socialist professors at the Gießen university ("Ein Mangel an nationalsozialistischen Hochschullehrern besteht in Gießen nicht." letter from 23.8.1938, Archiv der Präsidialabteilung der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen (PAG) 64).
At the same time, the dean of the veterinary faculty declared that almost all colleagues of his faculty were NSDAP-members (letter from 28.7.1938, PAC 64).
As opposed to this, the head of the "Nationalsozialistische Dozentenakademie" at the Gießen university, Prof. Beller, complained of a deficient presence of younger scholars at the academy's lectures in 1943 (letter from 15.11.1943, university archive, Theol.Fak. B 6).
- 84 One of the emigrated Gießen scholars, Erich Stern (professor for pedagogic psychology), published a study on these problems: Die Emigration als psychologisches Problem, Boulogne-sur-Seine 1937.
- 85 In comparison to 170 professors of the Gießen University in ws 1932/33 the dismissed scholars shaped 18,2% of the staff. Among the professors in ordinary the quota of dismissed scholars amounted to 25,9%, among the professors in non-ordinary 14,3% were dismissed.
Hartshorne counted 1.145 dismissed German scholars up to ws 1934/35, including the Technische Hochschulen, Handelshochschulen etc., excluding assistants and employees of non-university institutes. The quota of dis-

missed scholars amounted (up to ws 1934/35) to 14.34% of the German professorate in ws 1932/33 (Hartshorne, Edward Y (see footnote 53), p. 93). Ferber counted 1.959 dismissed German scholars (723 professors in ordinary, 1.236 professors in non-ordinary) under National Socialist rule (Ferber, Christian von (see footnote 52), col. 144).

- 86 Hartshorne calculated 423 dismissed medical scholars (= 26,2% of discharged professors), 413 (25,6%) professors of physical sciences, 293 (18,1%) of social sciences, 208 (12,9%) of humanities, 132 (8,2%) from the faculty of law, 53 (3,3%) from the biological sciences and 32 (1,9%) from the theological faculty. These figures (N = 1.615) included assistants, employees of non-university scientific institutes etc. (cf. Hartshorne (see footnote 53), p. 98).

Researching the quota of dismissed scholars at their faculties Ferber ascertained the focal point among the economic and social sciences, where the discharged scholars represented 47% of the faculty staff, followed by mathematics/geography (50%), humanities (43%) and jurisprudence (45%), while the medical faculties lost 42% of its professorate (Ferber (see footnote 52), col. 145 f.).

- 87 According to Hartshorne, out of 896 dismissed professors 230 were discharged for definitely "racial" reasons, 18 were definitely "politically unreliable", and 500 were either Jewish or "politically unreliable" (Hartshorne (see footnote 53), p. 99).

- 88 Undated list of dismissed scholars (PAG 4).

- 89 cf. Reichsgesetzblatt 1933, Teil I, p. 175.

- 90 Ferber, (see footnote 52), col. 144, 147 f.

- 91 Based on an extraordinary large-scale study, Strauss reports on about 3.000 emigre professors and assistants (Strauss, Herbert A.: Wissenschaftler in der Emigration, in: Träger, Jörg (ed.): Hochschule und Wissenschaft im Dritten Reich. Frankfurt a.Main/New York 1984, p. 53-64, here P- 54)

cf. also Institut für Zeitgeschichte/Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, New York (eds.), unter der Gesamtleitung von Werner Röder und Herbert A. Strauss: Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 (International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigres 1933-1945), München/New York/London/aris 1980/1983 (3 volumes).

- 92 cf. Pross, Helge: Die deutsche akademische Emigration nach den Vereinigten Staaten 1933-1941, (West-)Berlin 1955.

fig. 34

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
COMPOSITION OF PROFESSORATE

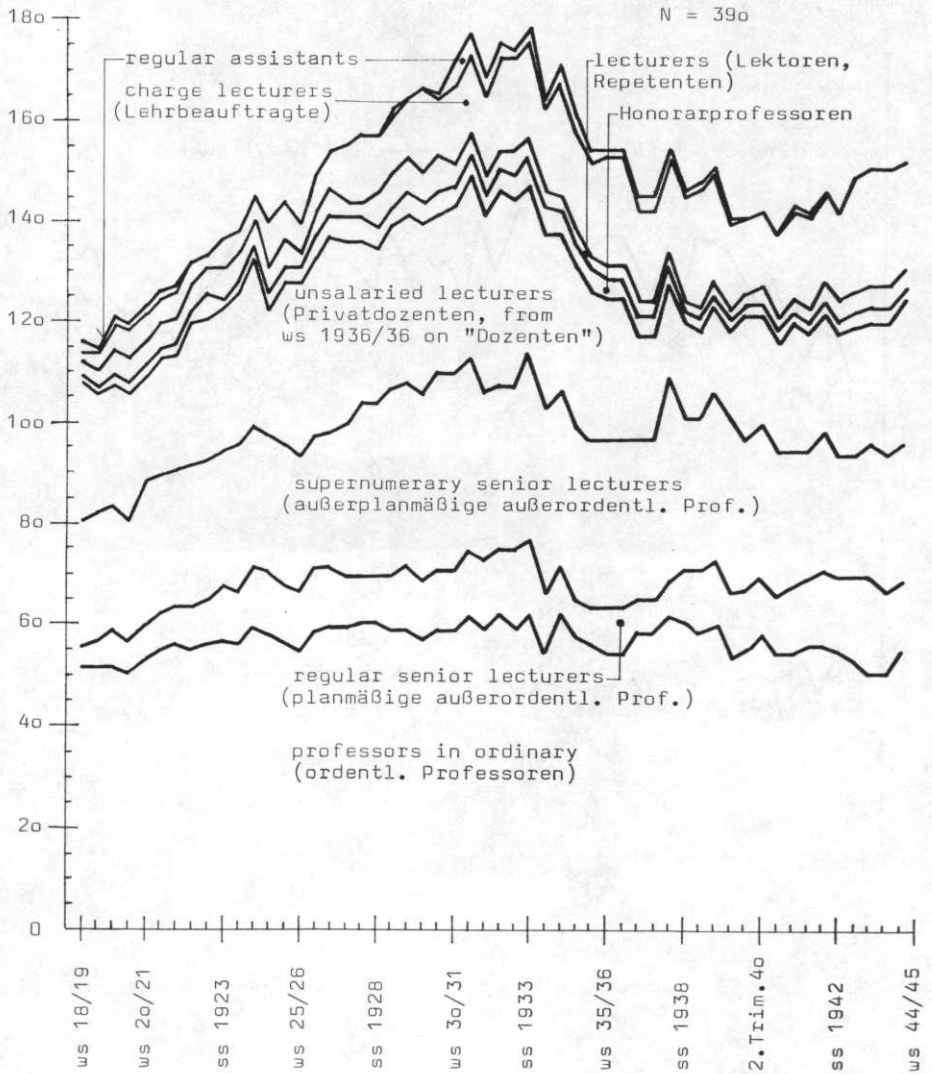


fig. 35

PROFESSORATE GF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY ūJS 1918/19 - ūJS 1944/45

SHARES OF FACULTIES

PROFESSORS IN ORDINARY

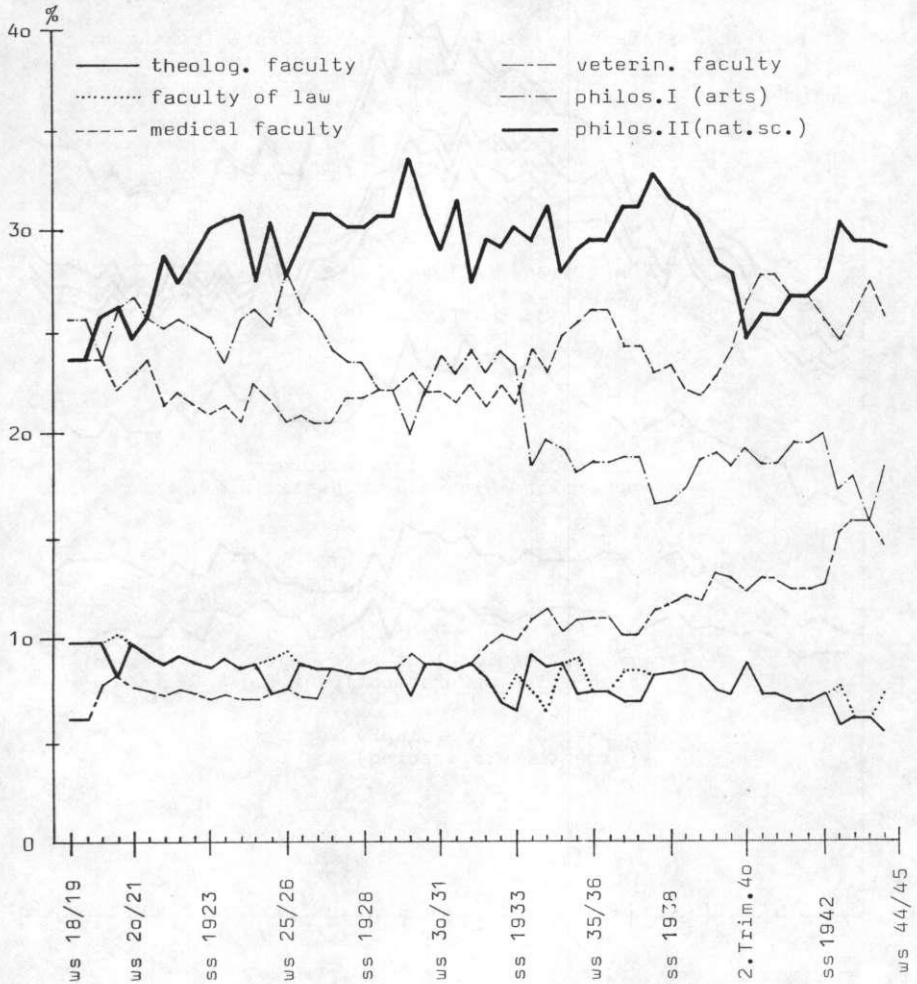


fig. 36

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
SHARES OF FACULTIES
PROFESSORS IN NON-ORDINARY

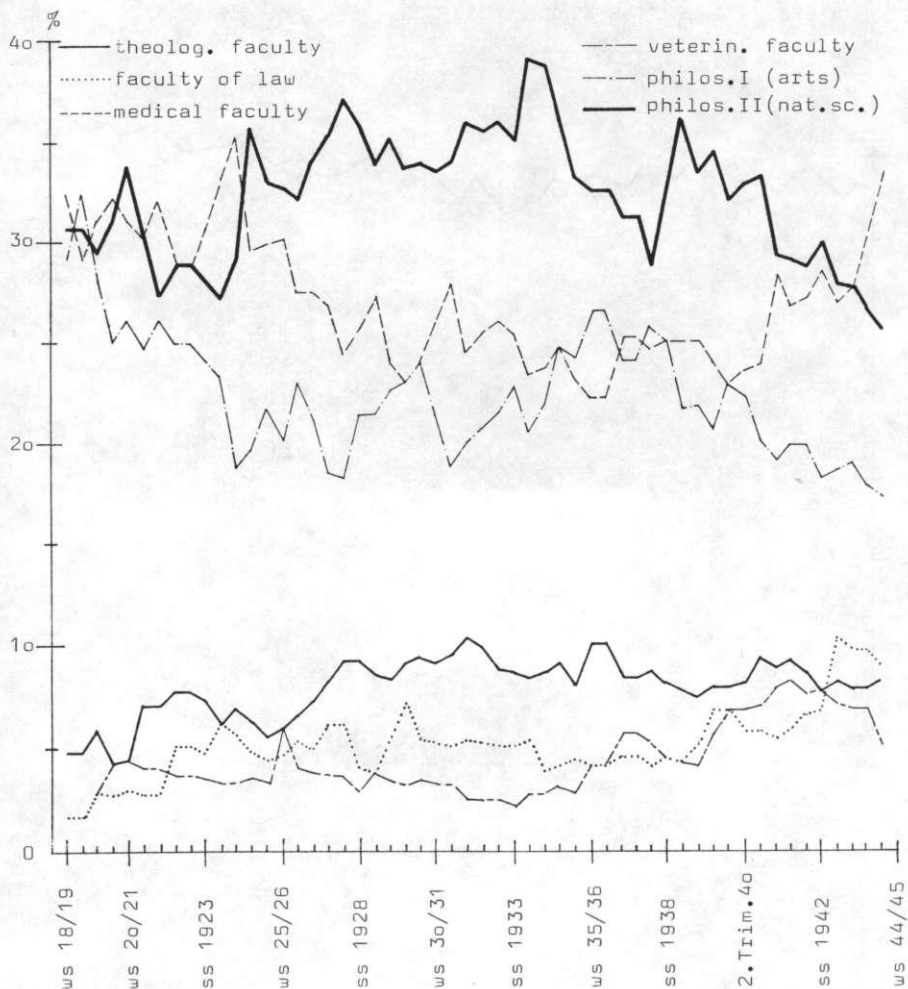


fig. 37

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 ~ WS 1944/45
SHARE OF NATURAL SCIENCES

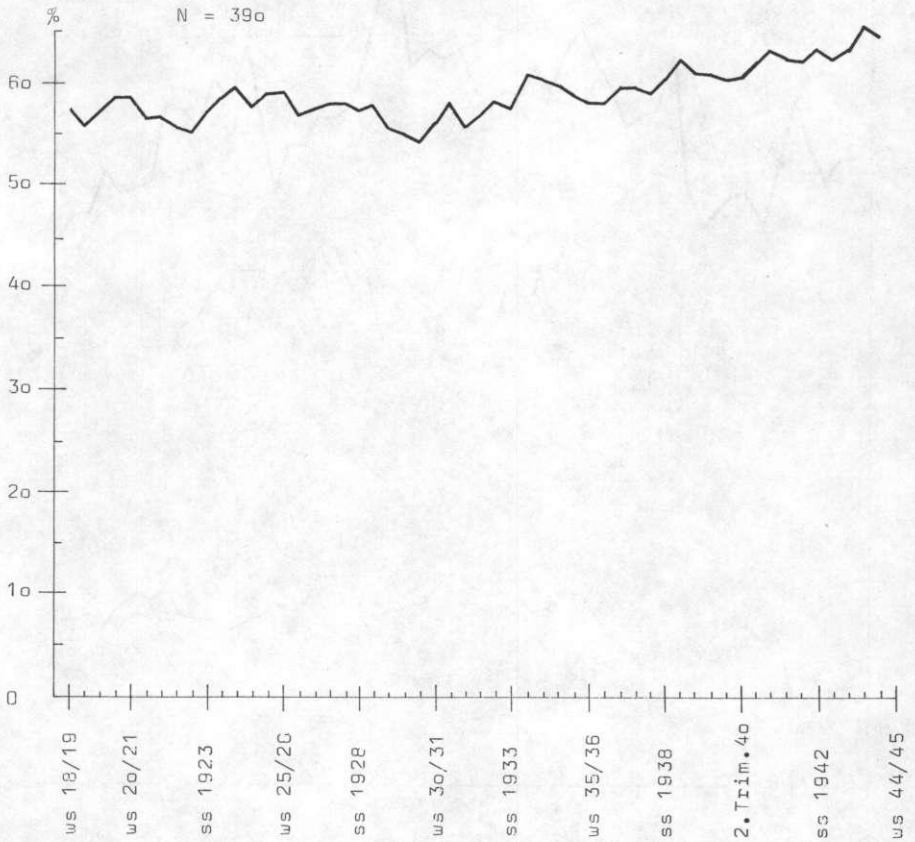


fig. 38

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45

MIGRATION : FACULTIES

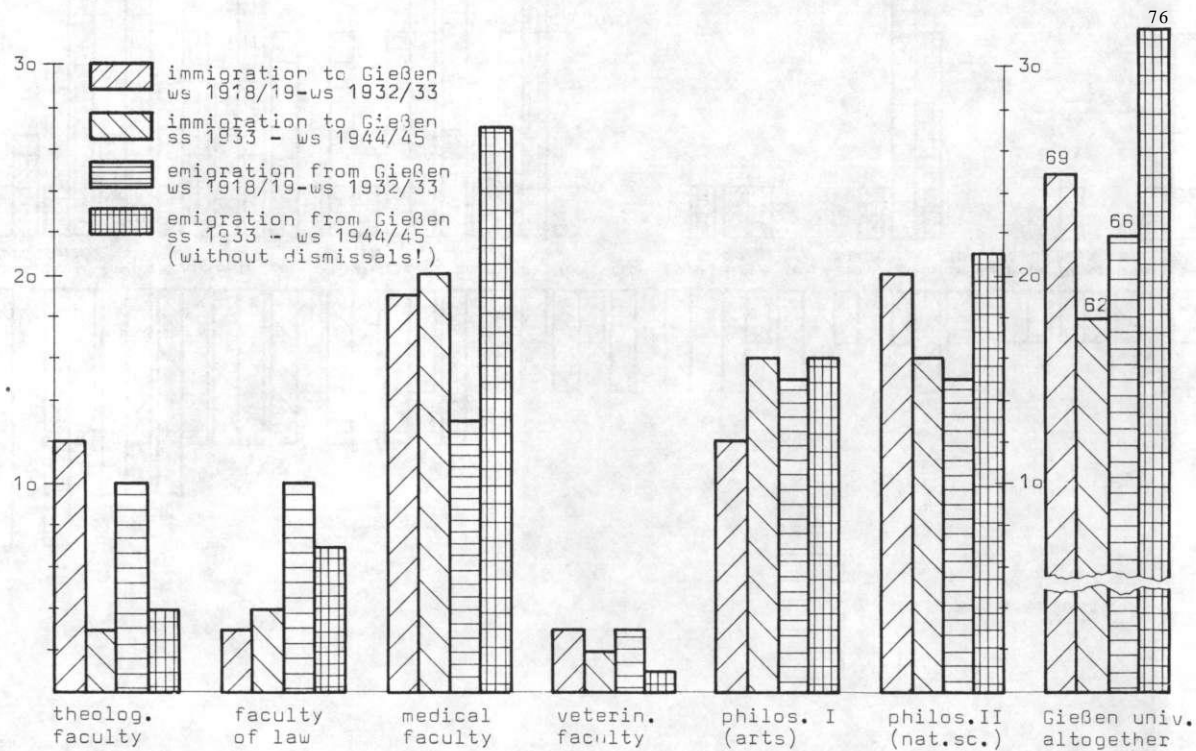


fig. 39

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

MIGRATION : UNIVERSITIES

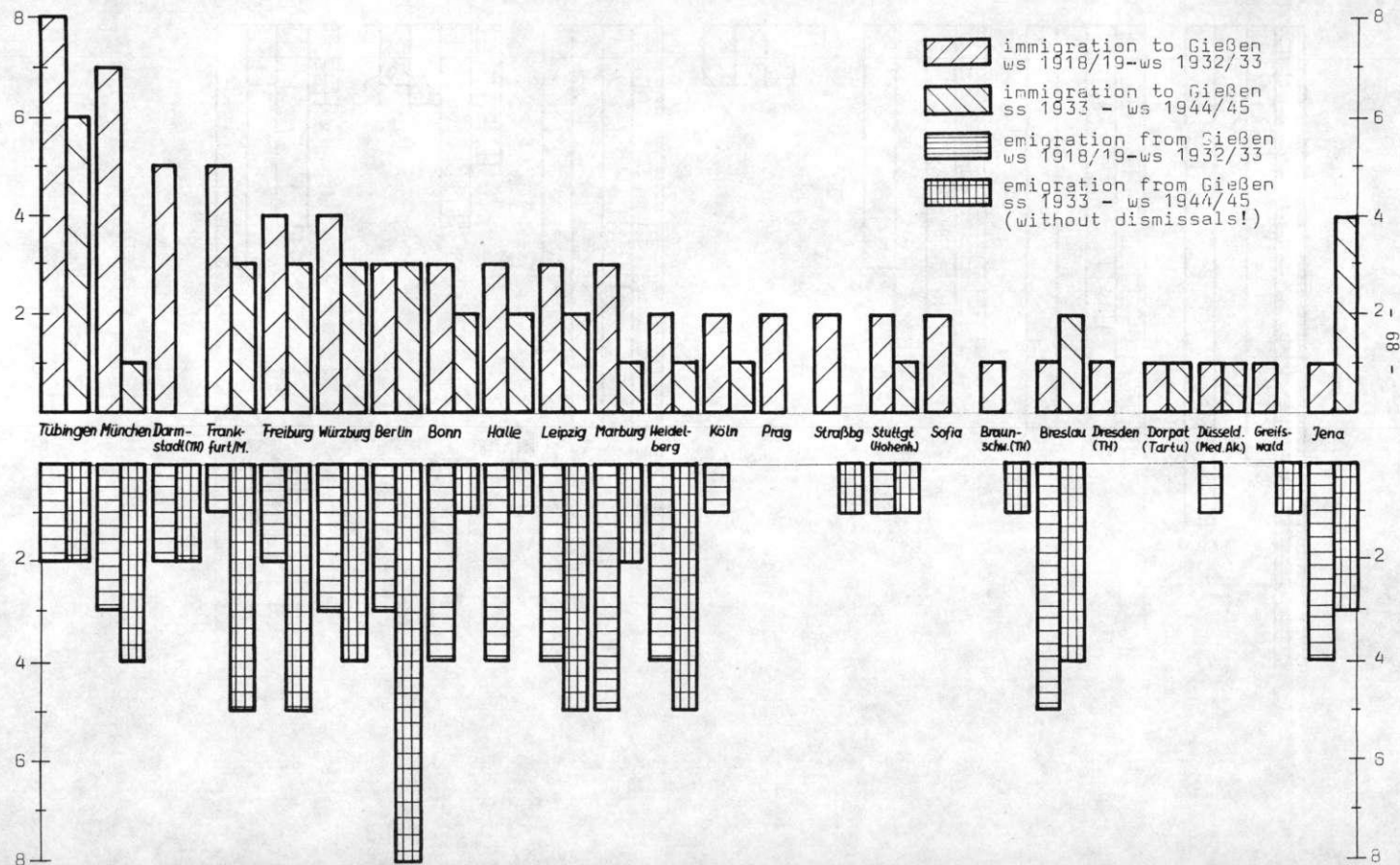


fig. 39 (pursuit)

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

MIGRATION : UNIVERSITIES

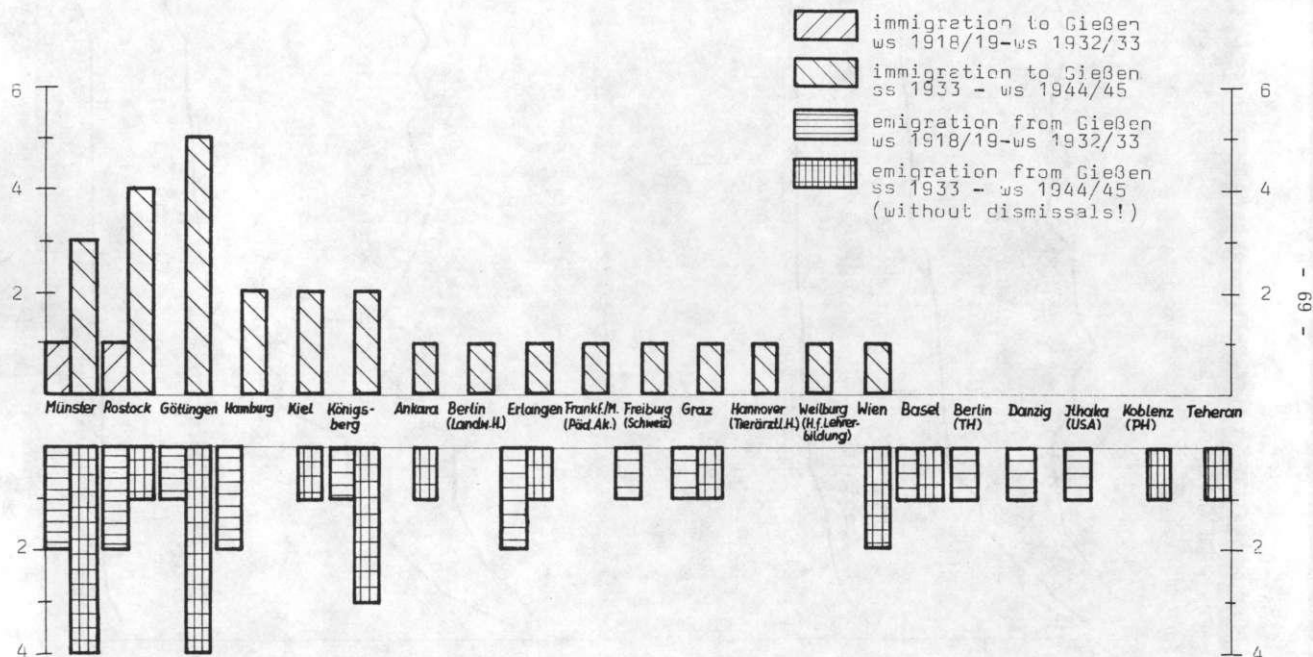
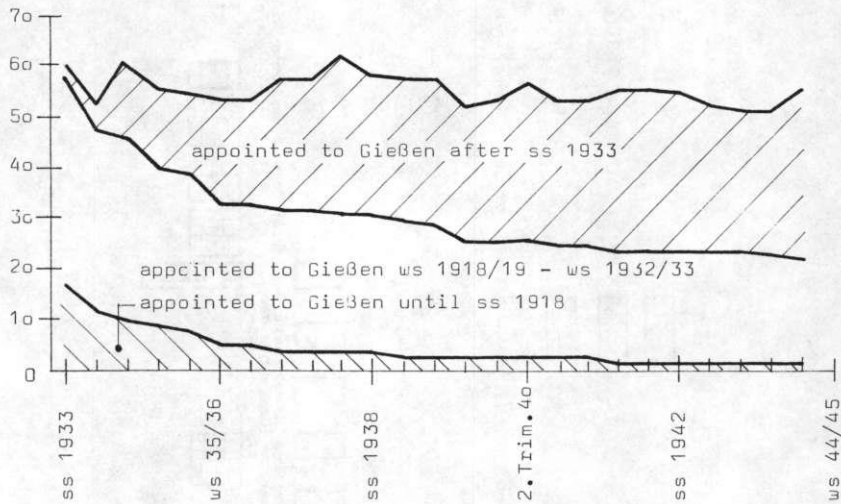


fig. 4a

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
APPOINTMENTS TO GIESSEN

a) professors in ordinary

N = 105



b) professors in non-ordinary

N = 170

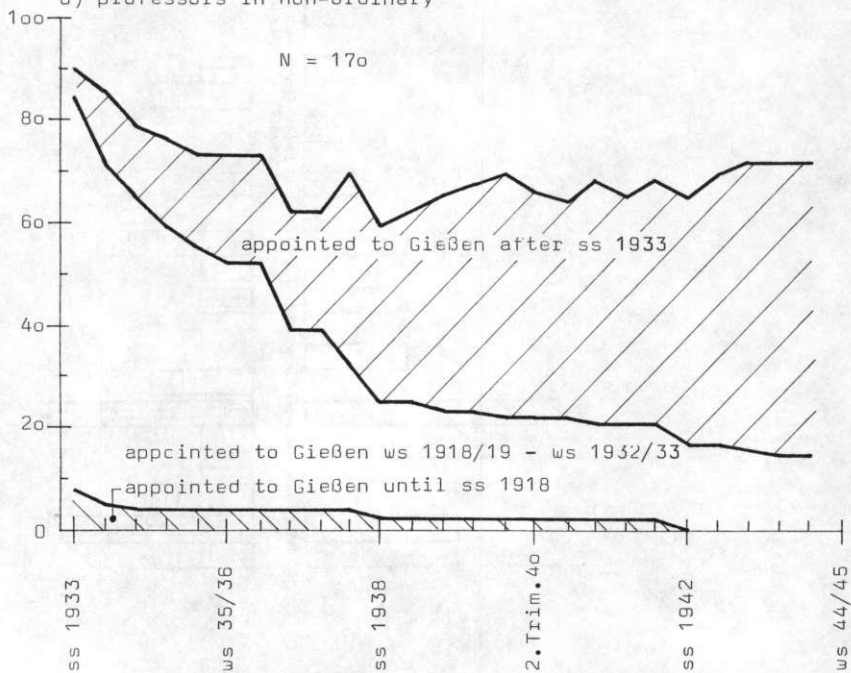


fig. 41

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
FIRST APPOINTMENT AFTER 30.1.1933

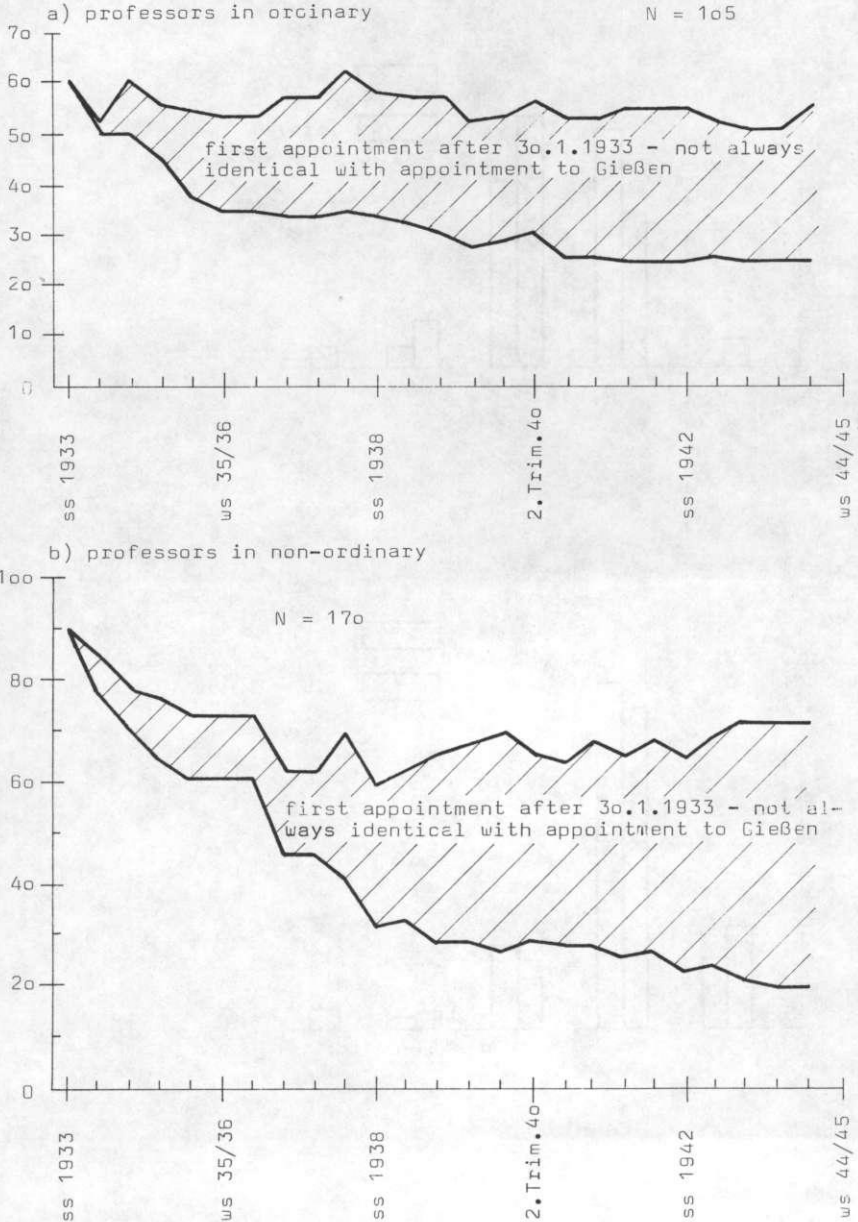


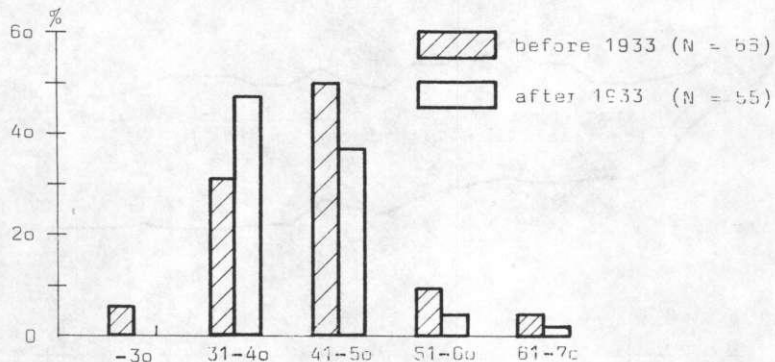
fig. 42

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

AGE AT APPOINTMENT TO GIESSEN

N = 301

a) professors in ordinary



b) professors in non-ordinary

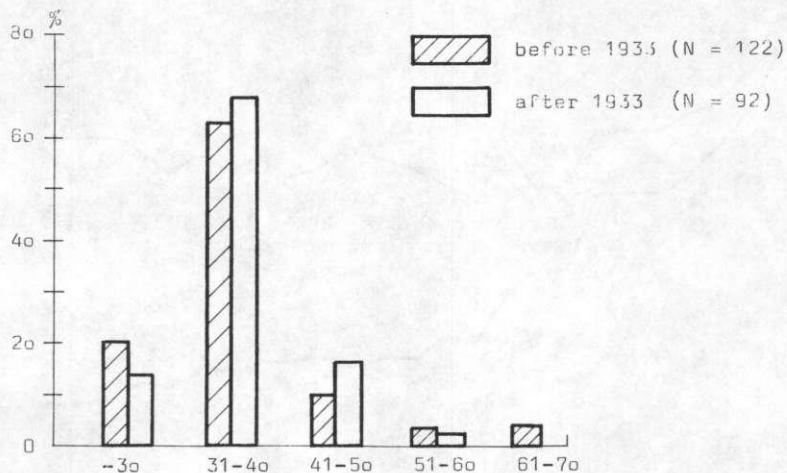


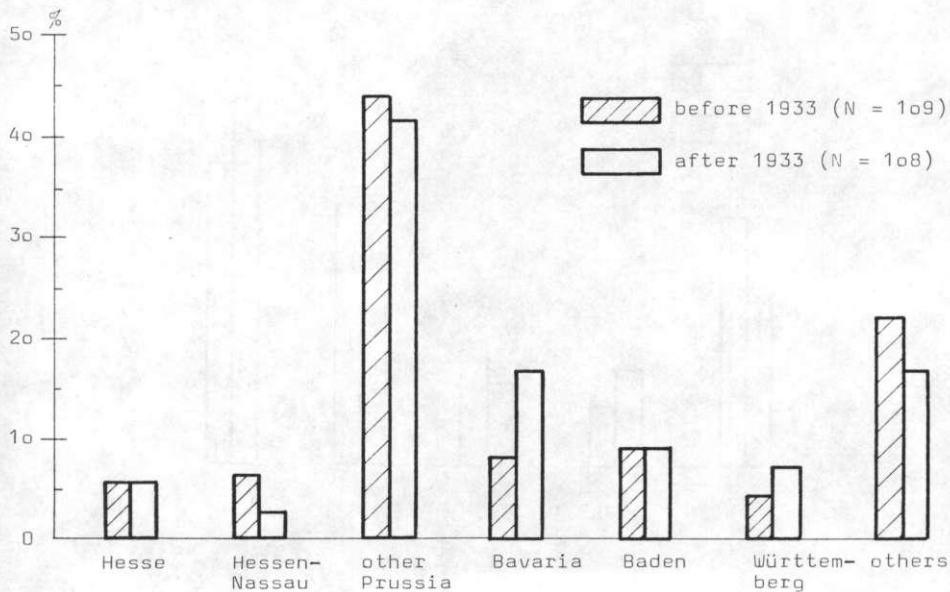
fig. 43

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

PLACE OF BIRTH : REGION

N = 389 (390)

a) professors in ordinary



b) professors in non-ordinary

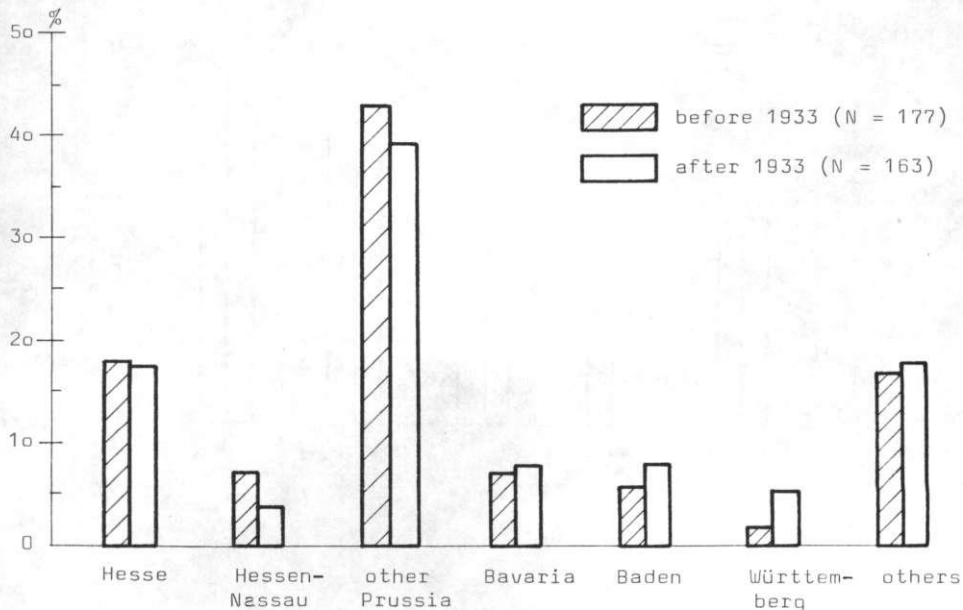


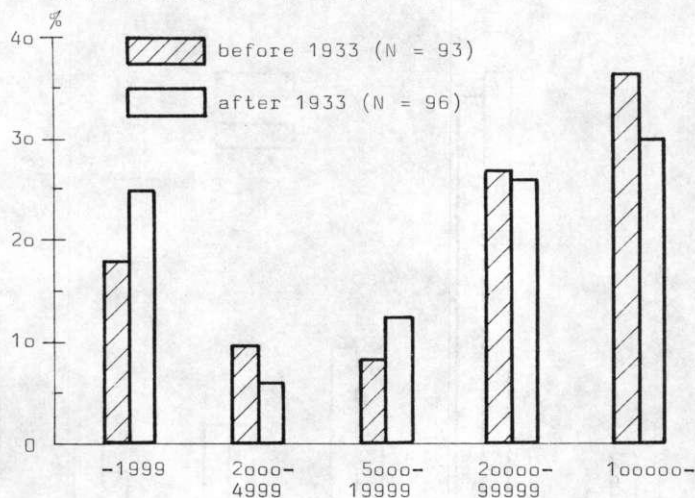
fig. 44

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

PLACE OF BIRTH : COMMUNITY'S SIZE

N = 354(390)

a) professors in ordinary



b) professors in non-ordinary

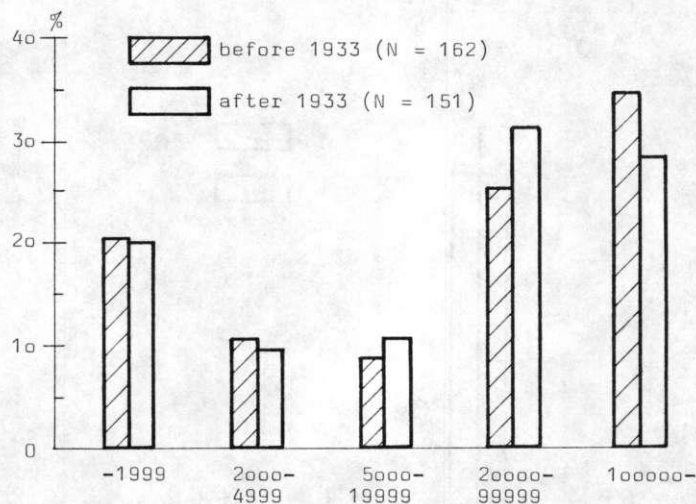


fig. 45

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45

FATHER'S PROFESSION

N = 198 (390)

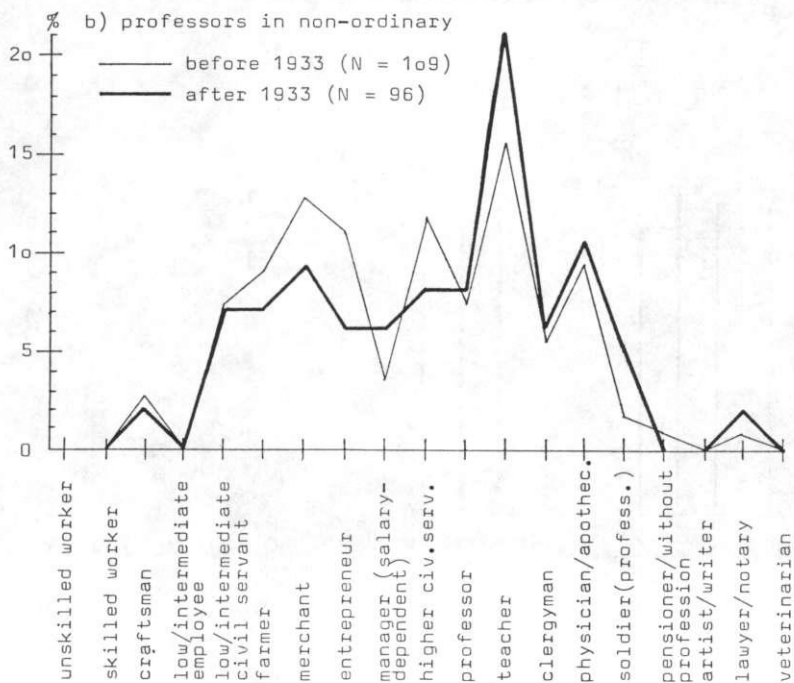
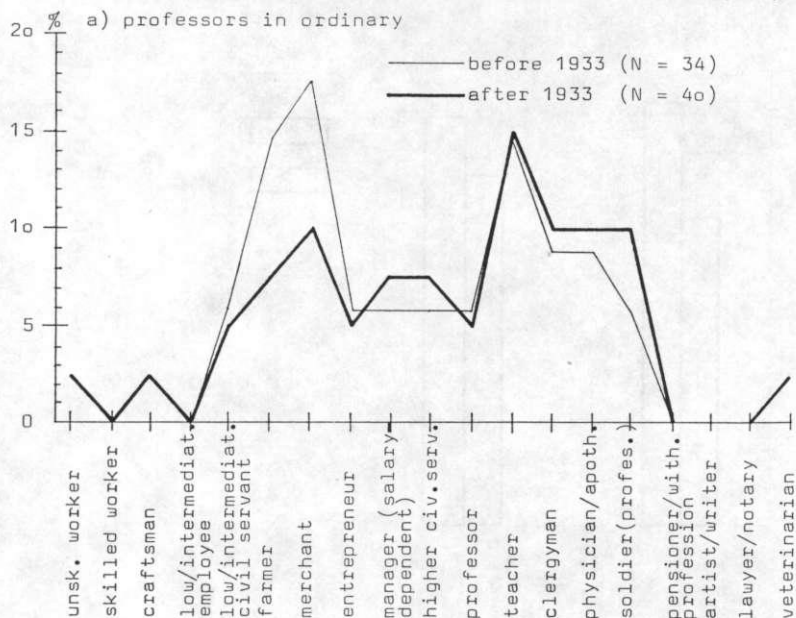


fig. 46

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
FATHER'S PROFESSION : UNIVERSITY GRADUATE N = 177 (390)

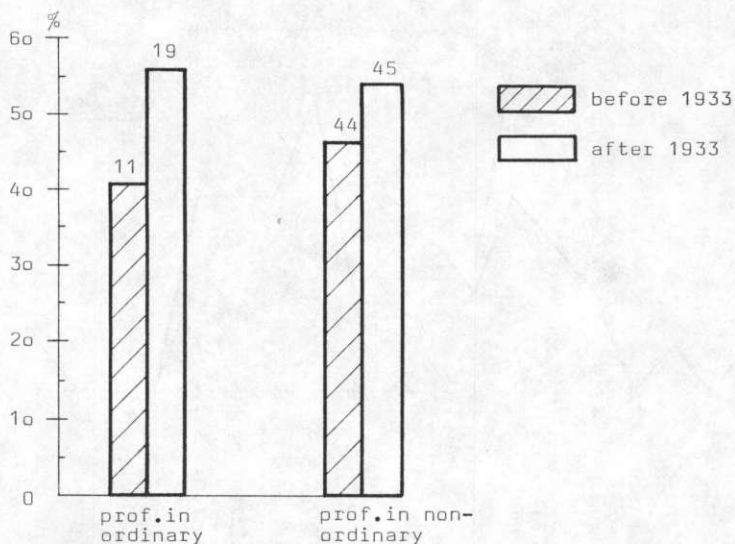
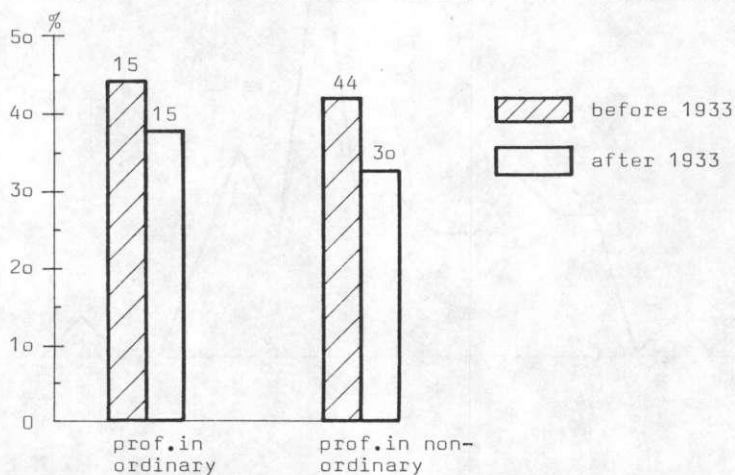


fig. 47

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
FATHER'S PROFESSION : SELF-EMPLOYED N = 198 (390)



PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - bJS 1944/45

MEMBERS OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS : SHARES OF FACULTIES

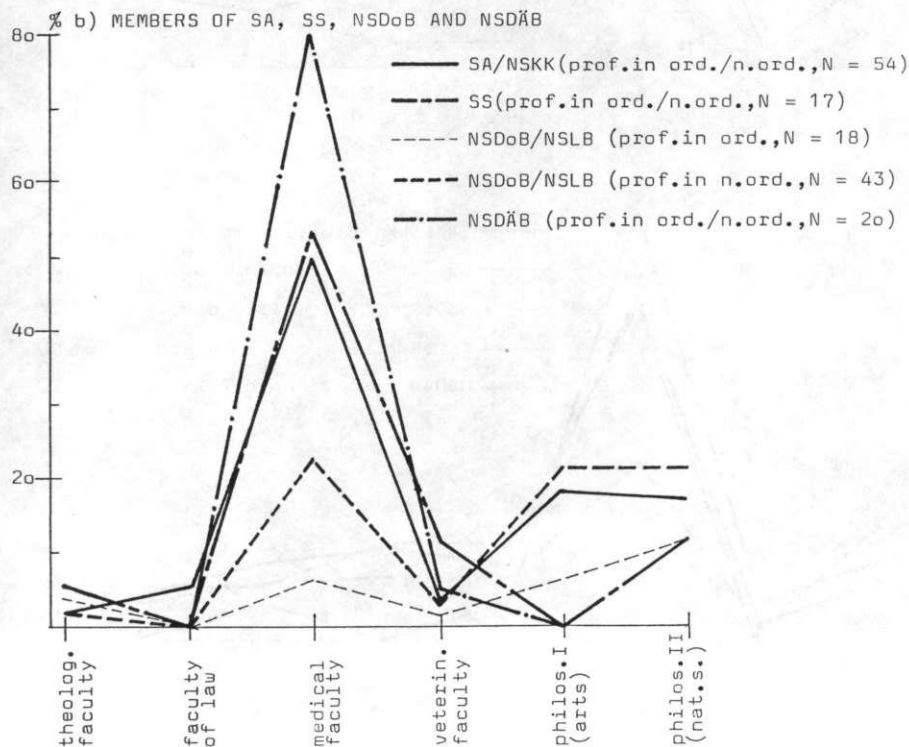
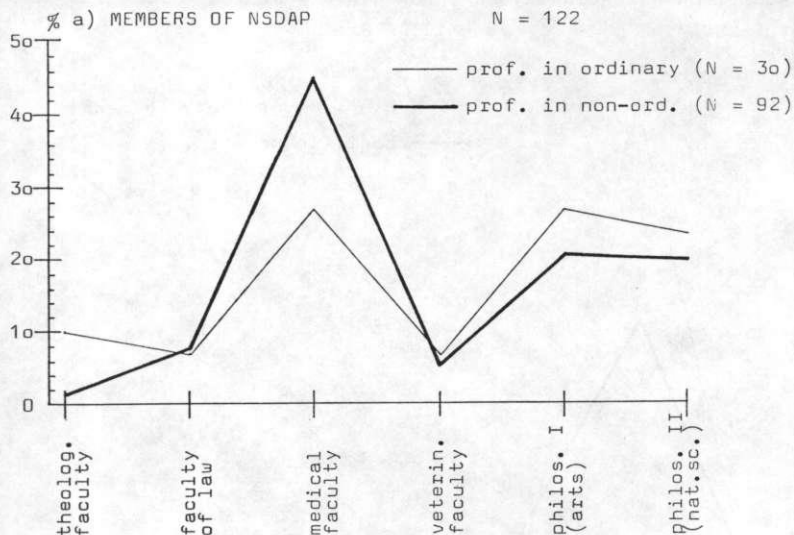


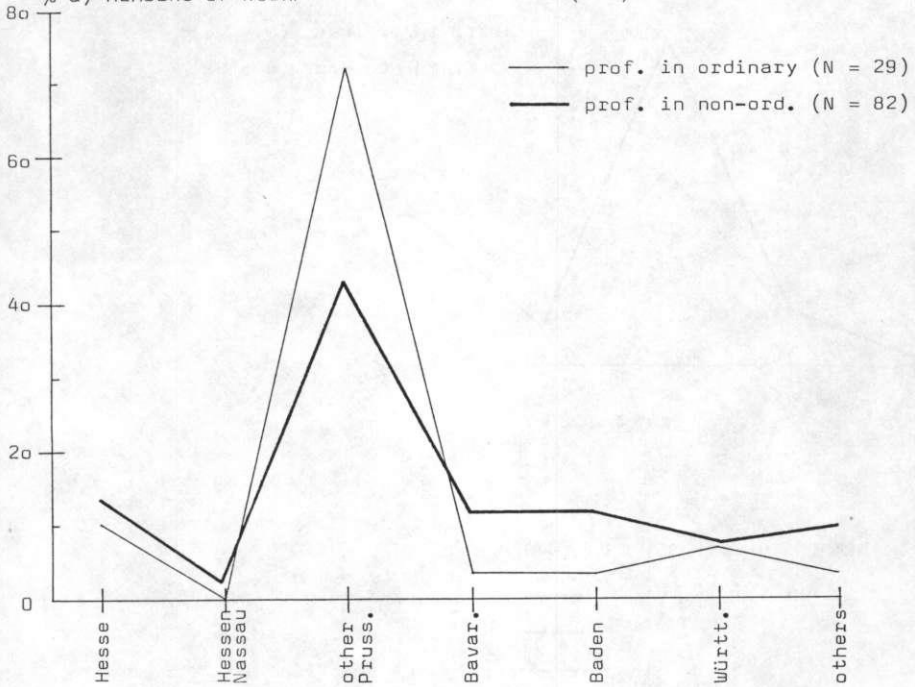
fig. 49

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WWS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

MEMBERS OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS : PLACE OF BIRTH / REGION

% a) MEMBERS OF NSDAP

N = 111(122)



% b) MEMBERS OF SA, SS, NSDAP AND NSDÄB

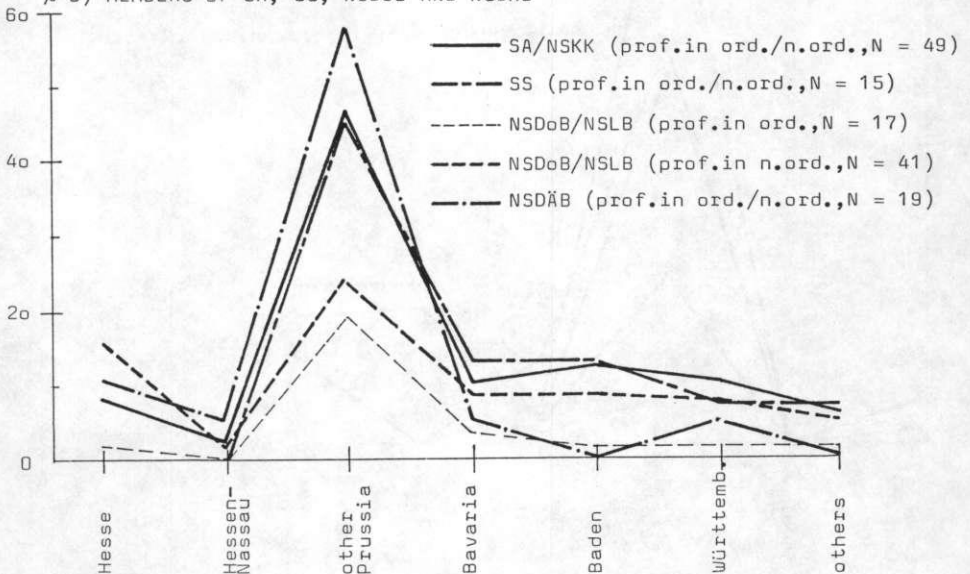


fig. 5a

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

MEMBERS OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS : PLACE OF BIRTH/COMMUNITY'S SIZE

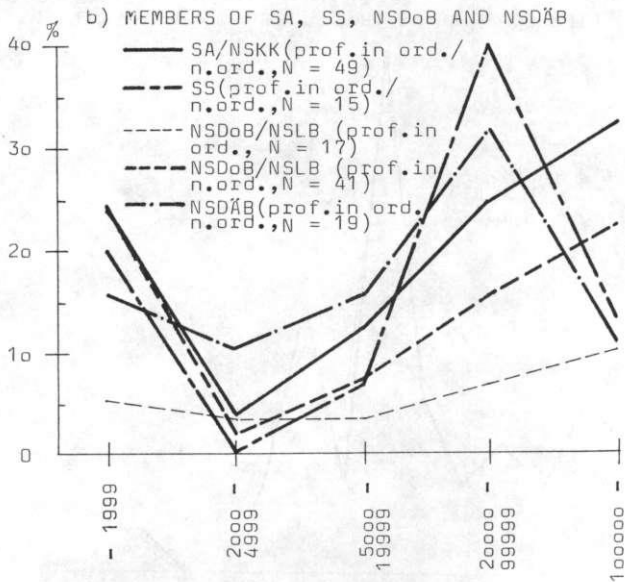
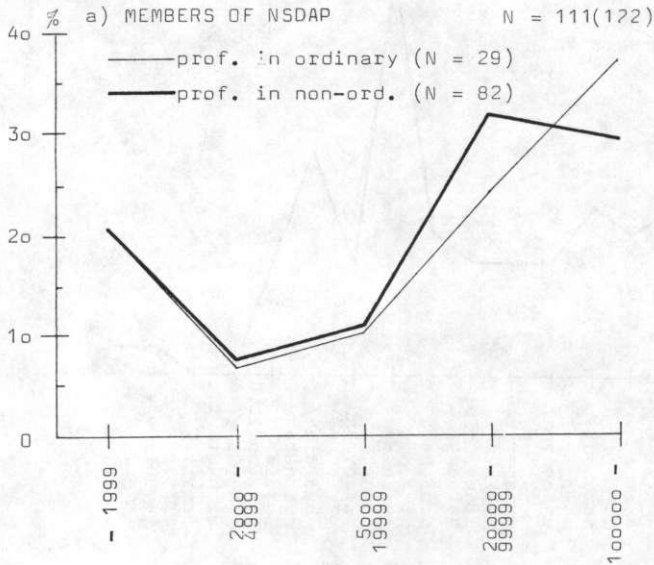


fig. 51

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY SS 1933 - WS 1944/45

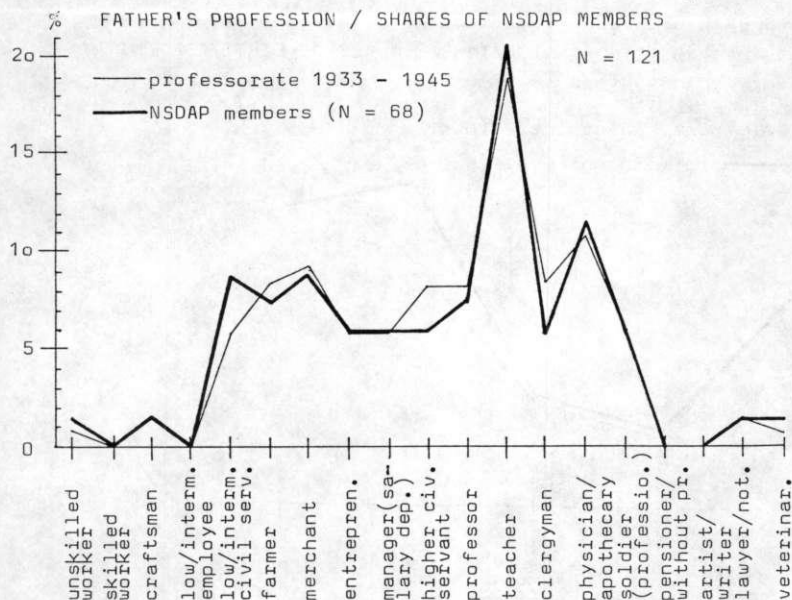


fig. 52

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY SS 1933 - WS 1944/45

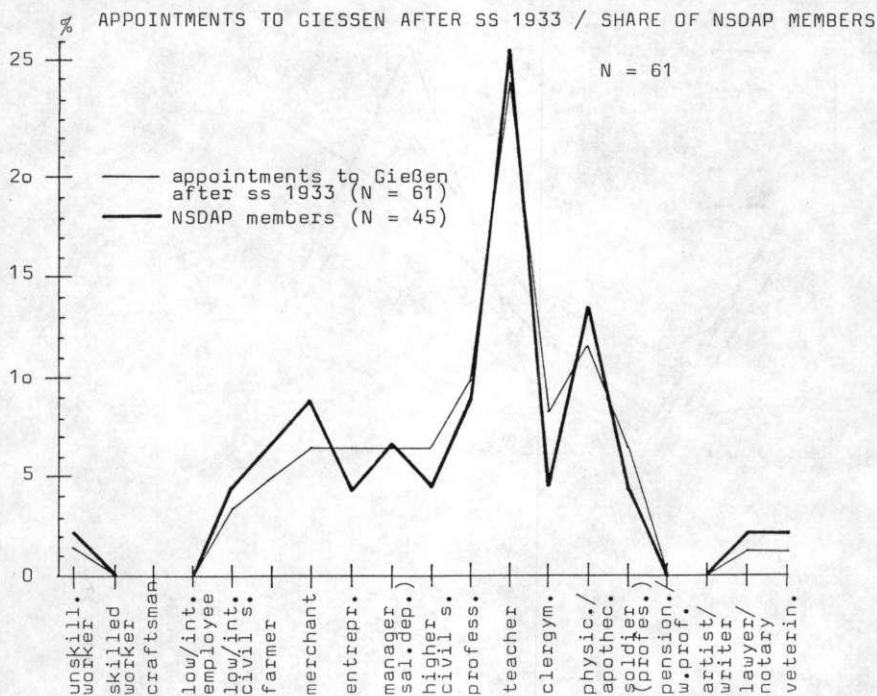


fig. 53

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
MEMBERS OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS : FATHER'S PROFESSION

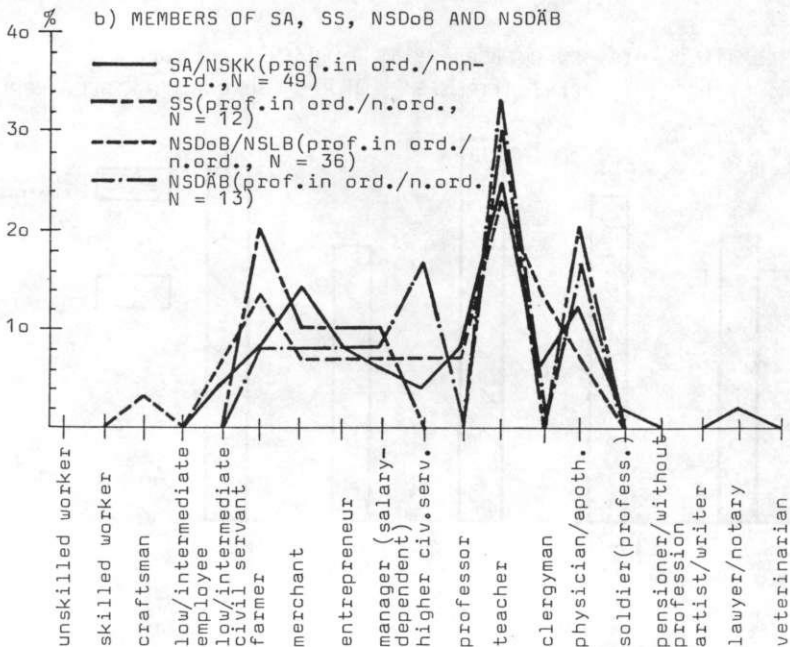
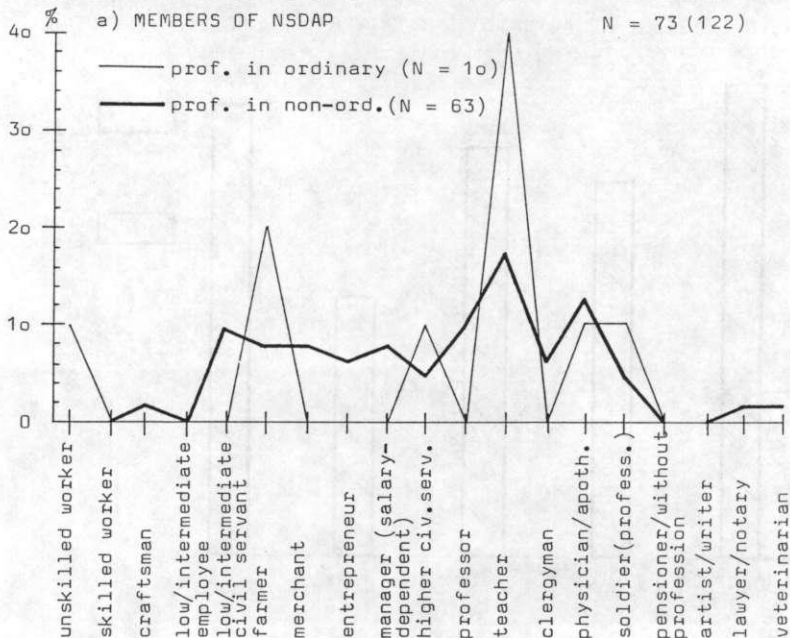


fig. 54

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

MEMBERS OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS : FATHER'S PROFESSION / GRADUATE

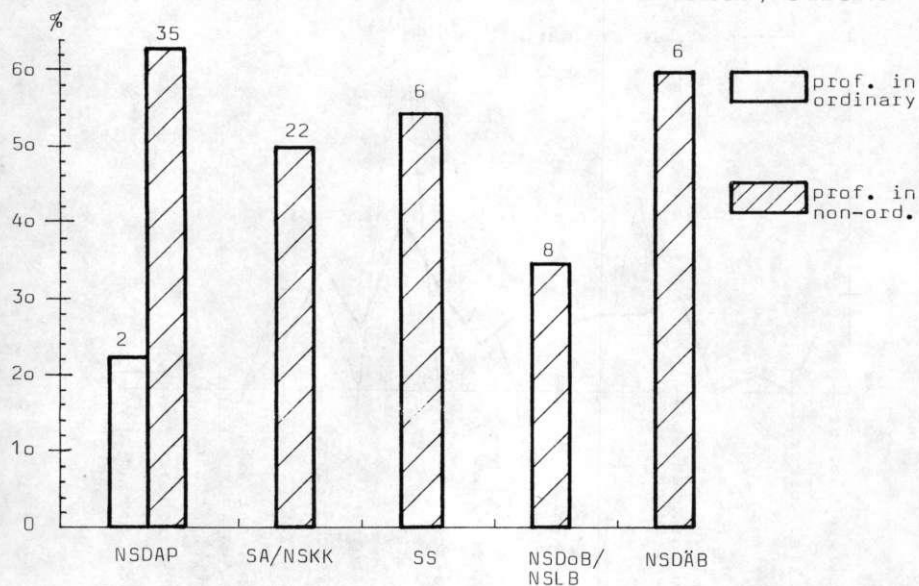


fig. 55

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45

MEMBERS OF FASCIST ORGANISATIONS : FATHER'S PROFESSION / SELF-EMPLOYED

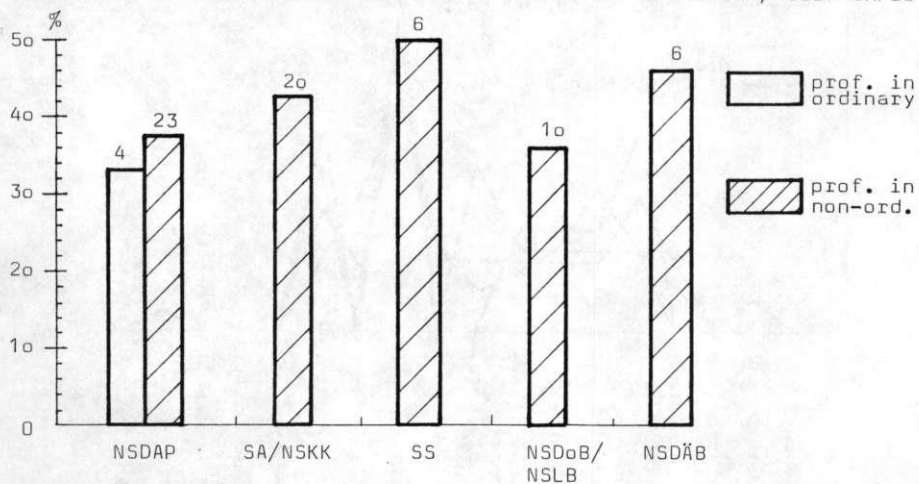


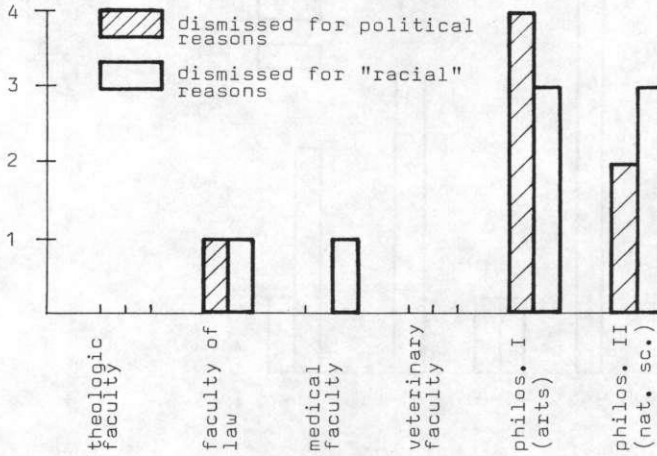
fig. 56

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY US 1918/19 - US 1944/45

DISMISSALS AFTER 30.1.1933

a) professors in ordinary

N = 15



b) professors in non-ordinary

N = 16

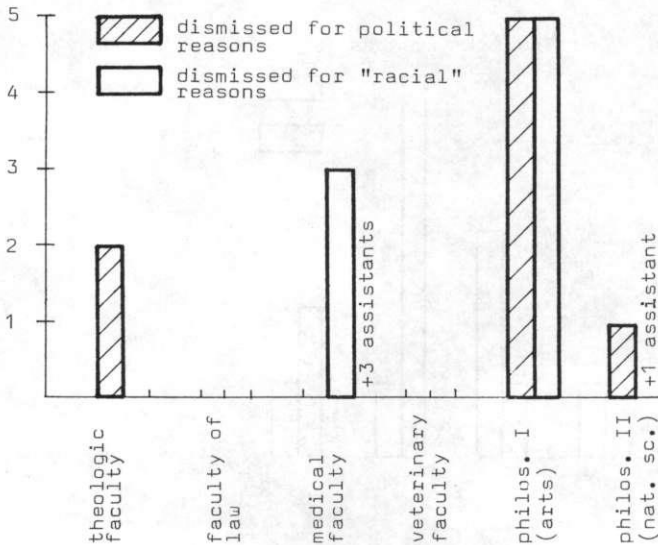
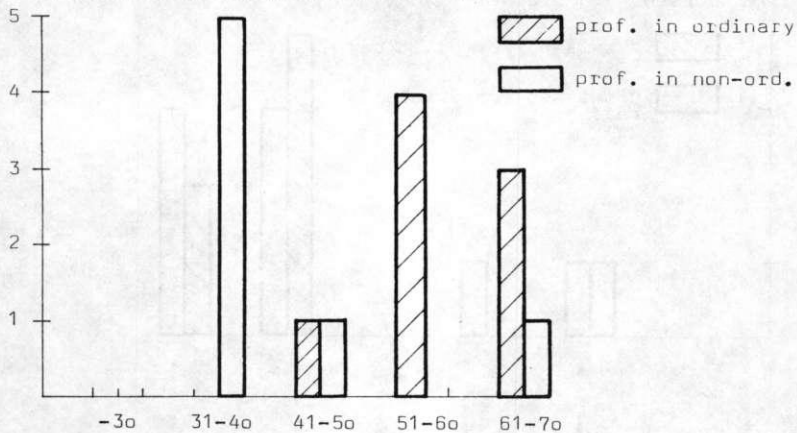


fig. 57

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
DISMISSALS AFTER 30.1.1933 : AGE AT DISCHARGE

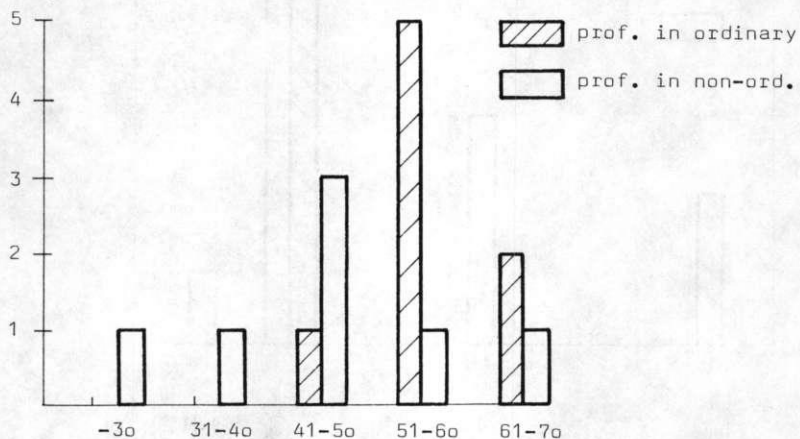
a) dismissals for political reasons

N = 15



b) dismissals for "racial" reasons

N = 16



PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
DISMISSED PROFESSORS AFTER 30.1.1933: FATHER'S PROFESSION

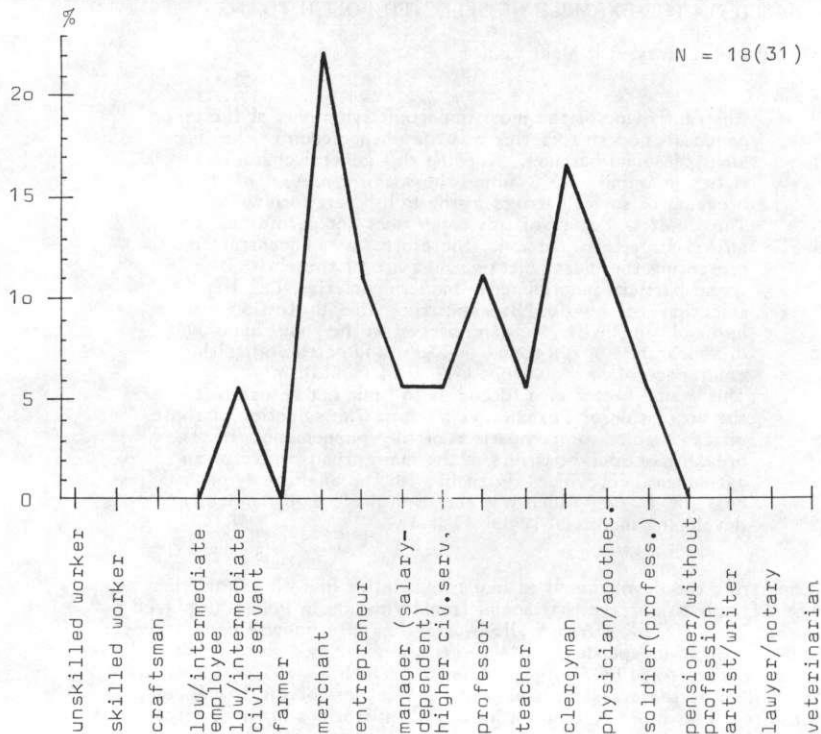


fig. 59

PROFESSORATE OF GIESSEN UNIVERSITY WS 1918/19 - WS 1944/45
DISMISSED PROFESSORS AFTER 30.1.1933: EMIGRATION AND RETURN

